The Archaeology of Manx Church Interiors: contents and contexts 1634-1925

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Patricia Truce McClure

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Abstract

Despite the large amount of historical church archaeology carried out within English churches, the relevance of British regional variations to conclusions reached has only been recognized relatively recently (Rodwell 1996: 202 and Yates 2006: xxi). This offered opportunities to consider possible meanings for the evolving post-Reformation furnishing arrangements within Manx churches. The resultant thesis detailed the processes involved whilst examining changes made to the Anglican liturgical arrangements inside a number of Manx and Welsh churches and chapels-of-ease between 1634 and 1925 from previously tried and tested structuration, and sometimes biographical, perspectives for evidence of changes in human and material activity in order to place Manx communities within larger British political, religious and social contexts.

Findings challenged conclusions reached by earlier scholarship about the Commonwealth period in Man. Contemporary modifications to material culture inside Manx churches implied that Manx clergymen and their congregations accepted the transfer of key agency from ecclesiastical authorities to Parliamentary actors. Thus Manx religious practices appeared to have correlated more closely, albeit less traumatically, with those in England and Wales during the same period than previously recognized, although the small size of this study could not discover the geographical extent of disarray within Island parishes. Amendments made to the material culture after 1665 which indicated the status quo was soon re-established in Man probably reflected a shared, compliant paradigm. Alternatively, in England and Wales the official exclusion of dissidents from the Church of England in 1662, visible in the landscape in Nonconformist chapels from the beginning of the eighteenth century, signalled the beginnings of the Church's loss of full judicial authority. In Man, hierarchical acceptance of moderate religious dissidence within the Anglican Church after the Restoration of the Monarchy, traditional cultural

practices, and changed relationships between clergy and parishioners visible materially within the two Island parishes studied, reflected the Manx Church's more successful strategy to maintain power.

A number of sections within chapters focused on material evidence of the unusual relationships between Castletown communities and their parish church between 1704 and 1925. Consideration of seating arrangements also highlighted the effects onto various Manx communities of the sale of the Island to England in 1765.

Throughout, the contents of the Welsh churches provided informative, comparative contexts that informed the hermeneutic processes undertaken.

To conclude, generally this project placed previously unexplored material culture within wider church archaeology and revealed regionally-specific *habitus*, human agency, and material activity and trends. The structuration approach taken identified a number of issues suitable for publication, and raised unanswered questions that would benefit from further research.

To my beloved daughter Anna

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Illustrations

Abbreviations

<	less than
>	more than
Arch. Cam.	*Archaeologia Cambensis, The Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association*, Pickering and Co., 66 Haymarket, London, S.W.
b.	born
bap.	baptized
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
BHC	Bridge House Collection
c.	century
c.	*circa*
CADW	[to keep], Welsh government's historic environmental service
CHCC	Cofod Henebion Cenedlaethol Cymru [National Monuments Record of Wales], Plas Crug, Aberystwyth, SY23 1NJ
CPAT	Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust
CL	church leaflet
Cen. R.	census return(s)
Cus R.	customs return(s)
CRGR	Castle Rushen Gaol Register
CRP	Castle Rushen Papers
CWA	Churchwardens' accounts
d.	depth / died
DD	Diocesan Deposit(s)
dia.	diameter
E	east
ed(s).	editor(s) / edition
EPR	Ecclesiastical Probate Record(s)
et al.	and others
et seq.	and what follows
fs	free seat
ft	feet

gm	gram(s)
ibid.	in the same place
in.	inch(es)
IOM	Isle of Man
IOM DFAS	Isle of Man Decorative and Fine Arts Society
IOMFHS	Isle of Man Family History Society
IOM PRO	Isle of Man Public Records Office, Unit 40/40a, Spring Valley Industrial Estate, Douglas, IOM, IM2 2QS
K	Kirk
l.	length
lb.	pound(s)
Llansantffraid	Llandsantffraid-ym-Mechain
L^{L}GC / LLGC	Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru [National Library of Wales], Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, SY23 3BU
MFHSJ	*Manx Family History Society Journal*
Manx Soc.	*Journals of the Manx Society for Publications of National Documents*
max.	maximum
MCM	*Manx Church Magazine*
MFLS	Manx Folk-life Survey
MHK	Member of the House of Keys
MHRA	Modern Humanities Research Association
MLC	Member of the [Manx] Legislative Council
MLM	Manx Life Magazine
mm	millimetre
MNH	Manx National Heritage Library and Archive, Kingswood Grove, Douglas, Isle of Man, IM1 3LY
N	north
n/a	not applicable
NADFAS	National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts
No. / no.	number(s)
NWHCM	Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery
oz.	ounce(s)
pers. comm.	personal comments

PR	Parochial Records
pre-Ref.	pre-Reformation
RC	Religious Census
S	south
SA	Shropshire Archives, Shropshire Records Office, Castle Gates, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, SY1 2AQ
sic	original script quoted *verbatim*
subs	subscriptions
TL	Tynwald Library, Legislative Buildings, Douglas, IOM, IM1 3PW
Vol.	Volume(s)
VR(s)	Visitation Return(s)
W	west
w.	width

Introduction

This archaeological project investigated characteristics of liturgical arrangements within a number of churches and chapels-of-ease in the Isle of Man and mid-Wales for evidence of active relationships between the material culture and those involved in their construction and use between 1634 and 1925, in order to place Manx communities within wider church archaeology contexts. The long centrality of the Anglican Church to British social culture (Rodwell 1996: 200) and the presence of a church in most British communities facilitated this aim over the *longue durée*. Many have continued in the same official and recreational use they were planned and constructed for, albeit simultaneously reflecting changing '[...] human motivations, mentalities, communities, and power' (Morris 1996: xv). The study also explored the developing technique of artefact biography. To those ends Chapters I-II detailed the processes involved.

The histories of traditional forms of enquiry and related supporting social theories reviewed in Chapter I revealed recent recognition that the spaces furnishings have occupied, and the ways they have been constructed and arranged inside churches, provide information about how they have influenced the behaviour of those involved. The post-processual approach that accepted the significance of documentary sources to an archaeological investigation was invaluable because during field visits, the interiors of churches in continued use could not be disturbed in any way, and because changes to internal arrangements within the established Church that no longer survive took place within formal, officially-recorded, judicial proceedings. Investigations of liturgical arrangements within the Castletown chapels were challenged by the conversion of one into a schoolhouse and then into a museum, demolition of its successor, and adaptation of its replacement for commercial use in the second half of the twentieth century. Evaluation of the literature also indicated that, despite the large amounts of raw data collected and published in the past, there was an almost complete lack of archaeological research comparing Manx church contents with those elsewhere that might place Manx communities within wider archaeological scholarship.

Chapter II explained practical aspects of the research processes followed, and introduced readers to the churches involved. A number of churches in mid-Wales that had not been placed into wider frameworks either seemed appropriate,

accessible contexts to the Manx churches selected. The principal challenges raised were the early choices of sites that had to be made from two geographically-specific groups of churches that had never been compared archaeologically, to ensure safe access to buildings chosen, and to associated documentation, in quantities (of buildings and information) that allowed for stringent analyses within the time and size constraints imposed. Chapter III particularly considered Manx and Welsh variations of the often more-familiar details of English ecclesiastical and civil governance, language and education, and social issues.

Chapters IV, V and VI explored how an understanding of changes made to liturgical arrangements revealed human and material interactivity. The enquiry in Chapter IV into how Manx liturgical spaces have been defined implied changed relationships between key actors in the regional variations of arrangements noted. Despite the impossibility of ever discovering any altar furnishings *in situ*, consideration of time-related changes in their use in Chapter V exposed a trend related to English political events that indicated the possibility of a stronger English influence on Manx culture during the Commonwealth period than suggested by previous historical scholarship. Deliberation of clerical dress in Chapter VII revealed much about class relationships and perceptions of material activity. The case study of early-modern Anglican use of a marble, rather than a wooden, communion table in Chapter VI, and the analysis of seating arrangements in Chapter VIII, considered possible meanings for the variations in form and use noted. The artefact biography of the marble altar-slab as commodity, as well as reflections on its construction, use-life and periods of inactivity, revealed much about possible perceptions of meaning in the contexts of prevalent rules and access to resources, as did the short human biography in Chapter VIII. Eighteenth-century seating arrangements within two buildings were found to replicate major Manx political changes closely, and identified the key agents involved in re-establishing the status quo shortly afterwards.

Conclusions summarized in Chapter IX reflected the hermeneutic, analytical approach taken. This project demonstrated that some of the continued interactions that structured social relationships between those who attended the eleven churches and chapels studied between 1634 when the first post-Reformation visitations were carried out in Man, and 1925 soon after Castletown became a parochial district in its own right and the Church in Wales became disestablished, could be discovered by

working out how and why the material culture inside churches may have been planned, constructed, decorated, displayed, used, and replaced by successive patrons, parishioners and clergymen. Analyses of post-Reformation liturgical arrangements whether aesthetic, functional, or both as microcosms of paradigms and memories experienced by related communities, revealed something about how various groups of people functioned. The principal challenge to this research, the identification of regional similarities and differences that placed Manx communities within wider geographical and academic contexts, was achieved. It could not be demonstrated that the contents of the buildings selected always reflected wider regional patterns, but the number of unanswered questions raised presented tantalizing prospects for further research.

Chapter I

Literature Review and Historiography

> Many maps omit Man altogether.
> Mananan wraps his mantle 'round him.
> The Island disappears. Its hills vanish.
> Its outline is erased in tissues of shifting mist […]

(Nicholson twentieth century)

This research aimed to investigate a selective sample of fixtures and fittings within Anglican churches in two geographically-separate locations from an archaeological perspective. Manx churches (Figure 1) have formed little or no part in archaeological studies of historical ecclesiastical interiors. Rodwell (1996: 202) and Yates (2006: xxi) both recommended that church archaeology carried out in the Isle of Man would add something distinctive to the international corpus. The project emulates theoretical and logistical approaches developed and used by others to raise awareness of several small, remote, hitherto unconsidered communities, and the ways in which local actors operated, in the context of wider trends.

The objectives of the research were to develop archaeological methods of analysis for liturgical arrangements to define the questions that would augment British historical church archaeology. A sample of Manx churches, compared with examples from mid-Wales, provided geographically-contrasting contexts. The research applied a structuration approach, and used artefact biographies to underpin logical, practical, and sound methodologies. A detailed database devised from extensive documentary research and detailed on-site recording facilitated this work, and ensured that interpretations were based logically and objectively on critical analysis of data collected. Finally, opportunities for publication and future research were considered.

Reflection on the historiography of documentary, historical art, architectural, and archaeological research, as reviewed below, highlighted the relevance of others' research methods in supporting the interdisciplinary approach taken by this project. In this way, the active relationships between the liturgical arrangements inside

churches and those involved in their construction, arrangement, use, and modification would be elucidated.

Historical research

Rigorous research demands a study of the recorded background of the subject being investigated to ensure an exchange of ideas between related disciplines (Gilchrist and Morris 1996: 118-19). Traditional historical research relied on analysis of written sources for information. Historians were often unwittingly influenced to present facts within stories based on achievement (Johnson 1999: 150). These usually reflected the top-down social culture that produced them, not least because, until recent times, many were illiterate and so unable to express themselves in this medium. Official documents reiterated authority that did not usually respect others' opinions. Advice to historians to be vigilant, self-aware, and seek peer review of conclusions reached (Tosh and Lang 2006: 206, 07) was sound, and archaeology shares such values. Many archaeologists also accept the interdisciplinary approach recommended by the French *Annale's* School (Giles 2000:2) and its ideas of the relevance of reflecting on underlying economic, demographic and environmental trends (Johnson 1999: 150). *Annales*' beliefs add considerable archaeological meaning to documentary sources by recognizing the 'plurality of social time' (Tosh and Lang 2006: 163). Individual opinions related to recent, personally-experienced short processes reveal more about real events than comments related to medium-length processes that may have had their beginnings during childhood. Writers are even less likely to be aware of the details of really long processes, any opinions having been shaped almost entirely by others.

Much relating to civil and religious governance in Man was accessed from historical sources. Secondary sources about the Manx Church often refer to single buildings or parishes and the high status individuals involved, details being recorded without reflecting wider geographical or socio-political contexts. Many, such as those by Cubbon (1952) and Cotter (1977), are largely unreferenced. However, authors revealed their familiarity with the arrangements described and, often unintentionally, exposed a number of archeologically-relevant materials and events that could be investigated further. They were also invaluable when associated primary sources had been lost. For example, Ralfe's (1926) account of the

Castletown chapels-of-ease provided the only evidence for the detailed, named, seating arrangements in the Castletown chapels. A.W. Moore's general history of the Island, which also used conventional formats, is carefully referenced, and so was more helpful than the only book that dealt exclusively with the Manx Church as an institution, Gelling's (1998) informative, but unreferenced, version of its history based on his personal perceptions from within the senior ranks of Manx clergymen. His record of events during the various episcopal postings to Sodor and Man between 1698 and 1911 unconsciously revealed much about himself and the conventional relationships between clergymen, but gave little information about those with the laity who were required to support this organization over the *longue durée*. However, it proved to be a reliable source about dated, official, Manx ecclesiastical events.

The carefully translated, transcribed, edited, and referenced articles published by the *Journals of the Manx Society for Publications of National Documents* (*Manx Soc.*) since 1858 reflect more rigorous academic enquiry and provide accurate information about the past, albeit within the context of nineteenth-century perceptions and conventions. More recent catalogued translations and transcriptions from old documents like those edited by Bray (1998, 2005), who did consider what happened elsewhere, Gumbley (2003, 2006), and Stott (2009), were more useful in facilitating access to old documents relevant to this research in easy-to-read formats. However, care was taken to check these copies with original texts. For instance, Dr Stott's transcripts of the Castle Rushen Papers (CRP), albeit invaluable because of the friable state of the surviving eighteenth-century paperwork, were sometimes incomplete.

The fully-documented history of the English Anglican Church, for instance those by Pounds (2000), Doran and Durston (2003), Fincham and Tyacke (2007), and Duffy (2005, 2009), set the English Church in context, and considered English regional variations. The many English historical accounts that excluded Welsh events were counterbalanced by those by Williams (1979), White (1997), and Williams et al. (2007) that covered Welsh church history within wider geographical contexts. Several histories of specific English (Gough 1702, Underdown 1992) and Welsh churches and/or parishes (Jones 1871; Anton-Stevens 1993) revealed, as unconsciously as in the Manx accounts discovered, much that was relevant about religious and social conventions relating to the writers' times.

Churches and chapels-of-ease seemed appropriate for archaeological investigation because many have continued in use to the present day for the purpose for which they were built. Assessment of interiors still in use revealed material modifications in the style and position of furnishings that evidenced changed liturgical practices. Findings were augmented by reference to related official documentation. The Church's centrality to community life, visible within the churches and chapels-of-ease was reflected, for example, in court transcripts of seating arrangements for entire communities, and in records of ecclesiastical presentments. Some of these challenged ecclesiastical edicts about public activities that in more modern times are considered civil issues, like the proving of wills and marital behaviour. One had to take care not to be swayed by the authority expressed within administrative sources (Giles 2000: 4) produced by those most often involved in ecclesiastical and civil governance. The plethora of bureaucratic documentation surviving countrywide in diocesan and parochial archives in the form of baptismal, marriage, and burials' registers, ecclesiastical probate records, visitation returns, and terriers, was invaluable in the intended, and sometimes unwitting, references to specific church furnishings found.

The recorded contexts of interiors and contents allowed the application of structuration concepts about perpetuated or changed social conventions and/or communal access to the resources necessary for construction and maintenance. Religious rituals that marked socially significant events and personal rites of passage within public performances where individuals came under the close scrutiny of fellow citizens were often recorded formally. Anglican *locales* and related official rules, part of everyone's social practices whatever their more covert religious paradigms just because the Church was established, intruded into everyone's experiences. These became visible in documentation which also revealed much about tensions between individuals and groups, as well as about collective communal identity and memory related to structuration ideas about time and place, just because disputes often culminated in officially-recorded, dated, presentment proceedings.

Churches were also where patrons and donors expressed 'wealth, unity and regional identity [...]' (Bannon 2004: 12). The necessity of formal, recorded, Faculty permission since the seventeenth century before any material changes could be made (Pounds 2000: 397) revealed an archive of religious authorities sometimes accepting

idealist plans unrepresentative of local styles, perhaps because benefactors contributed to otherwise-constrained resources. Local challenges to conventional arrangements related to perceptions of social and economic capital that became apparent in documentation and/or material liturgical arrangements informed analyses throughout this thesis.

Documentary ecclesiastical sources reveal the structurationally-critical concept of change, such as prescribed alterations and/or congregational responses. These resources facilitated consideration of material and human activity and interrelationships from 1634, when the first post-Reformation visitations were carried out in Man, until the documented changes that took place in 1920, in Man when the 1826 St Mary's Castletown became a parish church (IOM PRO C10/1 S/Q CO124), and in Wales when the Anglican Church was disestablished (L^{L}GC GB 0210).

Widespread familiarity with ecclesiastical material culture and arrangements detectible in British novels verified 'the degree to which archaeology is embedded in culture and society […] (Moshenska 2013: 249). Perceptions related to authors' times and socio-economic places within communities articulated within fictional storylines by Austen (1816), Eliot (1856, 1860, 1871/2), and Trollope (1857, 1858, 1864) reflected those authors' personal experiences of living within Anglican communities. They are as applicable as primary sources as similar expressions within Sassoon's (1937) and Parry-Jones' (1975) autobiographical accounts. The unconscious, conventional, material/human interrelationships recounted indicate the wide social acceptance of Anglican material arrangements as part of social scenarios over the *longue durée*.

In conclusion, secondary sources detailing the history of the Church of England provided essential contexts for both the Manx and Welsh post-Reformation Churches. Although historical research was shown to be dependent on information gleaned from written sources that usually reflect success, it was recognized that references within the many ecclesiastical documents about rules and events reflect contemporary 'economic and social history' (Yates 2006: 2), albeit often unwittingly. Documentary sources contributed usefully to this archaeological project, so long as critically analysed.

Historical accounts of single parishes and churches, although often unreferenced, provided valuable clues about specific activities and church

furnishings to follow up, and confirm, in regional archives. Most detailed only protagonists with the highest social capital and did not attempt to consider the perceptions of others involved, or the possibility of artefact activity or human/material interactivity. These omissions created gaps, some of which were filled during this research.

Art history

Classifications by art historians who focused on religious iconographic images and sculpture have relevance to church archaeology because their vocabulary has informed scholarly, inter-disciplinary discourses. Painstaking, critical self-control and regulation of principles in the production of the highest standard of academic research gives it 'universal validity' (Bourdieu 1994a: 268).

> Such a method consists in verifying the source of evidence and decomposing it: that is to say, before accepting evidence, one tries to determine upon what it is founded, and then decomposes this source into its original separate sources. This external process of criticism of the sources accomplished, one passes to the internal process; that is to say, one seeks to determine if and to what extent the author of the evidence has reason to tell the truth or to modify or falsify it'
>
> (Venturi 1964: 213).

Idealism expressed in art histories that argue that ideas are more important than material (Johnson 1999: 89), and make certain values appear universal, normal, and natural, should be challenged (ibid: 88). Modern ideas recognize that painted and carved fittings do not just reflect artisans' skills, but manifest time-related ideas, access to resources, and world-views (Bannon 2004: 5). Such beliefs contributed to this project by rejecting decorations within churches as static. Rather, the artisans and others involved were considered within the contexts of prevalent conventions, and the resources available to them within their social place during their lifetime, wherever they lived. Any expressions of social and political propaganda commissioned by patrons convey to viewers, in subject matter, size, style, and position, that contemporary religious authorities supported particular values. These

expressions can be analysed by modern archaeologists to reveal past social and lay/clerical relationships. Secular patronage has always informed individual religious perceptions (Graves 2000: 9). For instance, records produced simultaneously with the placing of high-status items within otherwise sometimes simple, and barely-maintained, interiors, like the east window glass installed into Trelystan Chapel in mid-Wales (PR Leighton 1856), reveal as much about social relationships within that community, trade routes, and methods of transport, as of the Welsh church authority's eagerness to accept patronage that expressed ecclesiological ideas.

The subject matter of art histories did not reflect the contents of the Manx or Welsh buildings studied. Feltham's less ambitious descriptions when he explored the Isle of Man in 1798/9 suggested his familiarity with artistic conventions. His focus onto the landscapes, sparse infrastructures, and architecture were as relevant to this project as sources about fine art. Critically, Feltham noted what he saw inside the Island's simply-constructed churches. However sketchy or subjective some of his remarks, they were sometimes the only eighteenth-century sources found about the form and position of some contemporary Manx Anglican liturgical arrangements. Such sources seemed most likely to have reflected the resources available to artisans within in the two relatively-isolated, largely-rural regions studied. For example, Daniel King's simple sketches of seventeenth-century Manx landscapes (Figures 2-4), the earliest pictorial evidence for Castletown, provided an archaeological context for the ecclesiastical material culture found, whatever the constraints or artistic licence taken. Commissions and reproductions were probably sometimes modified. Detail may have been excluded, or indeed added, either deliberately or inadvertently. Oliver's 1868 copies of drawings allegedly made around 1700 as part of fund-raising efforts soon after the key actor Bishop Wilson arrived in the Isle of Man, although of unproven provenance, were the only pictorial source of contemporary Manx churches found, and as such, relevant, whatever their shortcomings.

Wood carving allowed for practical expressions of individuality, albeit within the contexts of severely constrained access to this resource in Man (Cotton 1993), and the much greater availability of wood in Wales (Bebb 2007). Even though neither of these secondary sources considered wider geographical contexts, the authors' knowledge of their subject added meaning to the surviving examples of medieval and early-modern carved wood found inside the churches studied.

Significant numbers of black and white photographs depicting church interiors reflected nineteenth-century technological and artistic innovations. Although inactive glimpses in time, they form part of more active continuums when considered in the contexts of earlier, and subsequent, information about arrangements within such *locales.* They offer a window on perceptions of the significance of events, and/or materials, to individuals and groups.

To conclude, past descriptions of long-since disappeared art forms and landscapes contributed to this research, as did artists' choices of subjects, so long as information presented was viewed critically with an awareness of their time and socio-economic place within societies. All helped place items found inside churches into wider artistic, social, and liturgical contexts, and to identify contemporary conventions and local availability of resources. Analyses of images and written sources reveal how and why spaces and furnishings may have been decorated or arranged. This places human/material interactivity, and the material arrangements noted inside churches, into wider geographical and structuration contexts. The illustrations included in this thesis aided familiarization with regionally, culturally, and time-specific religious material culture, and provide evidence for the conclusions reached.

History of architecture

Processes classified and documented by architects like Thomas Rickman (1776 – 1841) are still used today (Braun 1970: 14). Architectural styles and fashions originating in ancient Greece, and the many references to religious interiors in publications such as Fleming et al. (1995), are relevant because they reflect prevailing aesthetic, political, and devotional architectural paradigms. However, much of the literature was distorted and less useful by its exclusion of vernacular architecture, even though about ninety percent of buildings have been erected without any input from architects or engineers (Vellinga (unpublished) 2011). Consideration of the construction and modifications to such buildings contributed to this project by revealing many structuration ideas about availability materials, skills, and patronage to the members of the rural communities and small towns studied.

Light, acoustics, texture, the positioning of structures and furnishings, and other properties as perceived by the senses apply as much to consideration of church

architecture, as of art. But internal spaces cannot be fully appreciated from two-dimensional images. Experienced personally from within, architecture's special 'dynamic nature' is missing from other art forms (Masinton 2006: 37). This phenomenological concept was recognized in this study.

Secondary sources provided much of the information about chronologically and geographically-related contexts. The data from field visits revealed considerable regional variations in attitude and access to resources, which had relevance to this structuration-based study seeking to find the key actors involved in giving meanings to ecclesiastical liturgical arrangements. For instance, neo-Classical styles based on the outcomes of early archeologists' activities were developed in the seventeenth century, especially for public buildings (Summerson 1986: 14, 15). Wren's churches designed after the 1666 fire of London, in which he ensured everyone present could see and hear the clergy clearly, were the first English churches designed primarily for Protestant liturgical use (White 1962: 2). Such sources augmented information from field visits and official paperwork about Wren's widespread and long influence on forms used. He was a key agent when black and white checkerboard marble chancel floors were installed into seventeenth-century London churches, but it was others' activities that replicated this design in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain in mid-Wales over two centuries later. Material evidence of such time-related regional, preferential inconsistencies raised possibilities of various personal and shared perceptions of meaning related to dissemination of, and access to, information, liturgical significance, and improvements to travel infrastructures. These were associated with migration of the English into Wales during the Industrial Revolution, and probably other factors.

By 1839 investigation and appreciation of medieval architecture had become fashionable (Webster 2003: 13). The Cambridge Camden Society actively supported use of gothic features in religious buildings and these soon became important features of Anglican devotion (ibid: 20). Gothic-revival interiors did not replicate medieval conditions or correctness (Braun 1970: 15, 20) so, usefully, placed examples of the new style within a specific time scale. The nineteenth-century material changes made inside British churches provided late, recorded contexts for consideration. The term ecclesiology came to be recognized as referring to key Camden Society agency that influenced architects to replace Classical styles with gothic. Congregational activities that resulted in the installation of free seating

reflected increased social mobility, expedited by contemporary demographic changes.

Addleshaw and Etchells' 1948 account linked architectural aspects of Anglican worship in English, Irish and some European churches up to the twentieth century, providing sound information about variations in past use of ecclesiastical spaces as contexts for material arrangements. While they did not venture into Man or Wales, or investigate the transient, active natures of those spaces as evidence of the perceptions of those involved in their construction or use, this provided research opportunities.

Architecture has always reflected function. Functionalist theorists considered societies as harmoniously interacting, supportive, organic systems. Building layouts as systems reflected the fundamentality of components to each building's survival. Functionalists have considered accessibility, visibility, audibility and the optimum use of space by arranging furnishings carefully within stable structures. Archaeological applications of functionalism were founded on the consequences of changing architectural structures or the moving about of furniture that imply human agency and changed perceptions. Functionalism has also contributed towards the compilation of the artefact biographies included here by explaining the relevance of worn, damaged or modified materials. But this approach cannot explain how buildings and their contents impacted onto individuals, or the tensions and conflicts that always occur within groups and communities.

Structuralist theory, applied to architecture, reflects the rules that ensure material stability, and those that have facilitated management of human behaviour within interior spaces. Changes made to buildings requiring major consultation, planning and funding could be analysed by structuralism because of its links with functionalism (Giddens 1979a: 60), but such social theory excludes consideration of the time differentials (ibid. 1979b: 235) so important to this project. Social place, another critical consideration, was also often ignored, architecture having been largely about high status buildings designed and funded by high status people rather than how ordinary people in various times and places adapted buildings for use within the resources available to them. A structuralist approach cannot discover the frequently covert and unwritten cultural rules that inform human paradigms (Johnson 1999: 96). Structuralist ideas have contributed to finding out how the production, exchange and consumption of goods were organized in the past, but the static nature

of structuralism eliminated its use for this project which particularly considered the dynamic nature of liturgical arrangements that reflected power struggles over the *longue durée*.

In summary, although consideration of architecture was recognized as being as relevant to archaeological as to architectural analyses, this project could not be approached architecturally because of that discipline's pre-occupation with dating construction phases of buildings, instead of accepting this as only part of most buildings' lives. However, the nature of architectural phases and styles provided useful contexts when trying to date materials. Evidence of architectural phases also contributed to this investigation because modifications of earlier forms and configurations sometimes changed how spaces could be used, perceptions of which actively reminded worshippers about the latest liturgical rules and behavioural expectations. Perception as an active, unconscious human quality (Lawson 2001: 72), as evidenced in ecclesiastical architecture, facilitated the search for links between human agency and artefact activity.

History of archaeology

> The area where an understanding of the history of archaeology is arguably the most important is in research, where doctoral students and others attempt to push the boundaries of archaeological knowledge. To reach the cutting edge, it is necessary for scholars to possess a detailed and critical understanding of previous work in their field, and here the value of an historical review is considerable, as it allows the scholar to view developments and innovations in their field in their full intellectual, social, political and personal contexts
>
> (Moshenska 2013: 248).

Early antiquarians/archaeologists reflected nostalgically on Classicism, and collected high status artefacts for aesthetic reasons. Before the 1960s, archaeologists tried to reach conclusions from social paradigms outside the cultures they were investigating by considering artefacts and contexts as static (Hodder 1997: 13). For instance nineteenth-century publications of the Welsh *Journals of the Cambrian Archaeological Association* did not recognize that implicit ideas governed earlier

practices, only reporting contributors' personal assessments of what materials identified represented. Evidence proffered was heavily constrained by personal paradigms, and only selective data recorded. This emphasis on value related to achievement frequently excluded utilitarian objects and those of low aesthetic worth. Although pioneers in archaeology sometimes considered other circumstances to clarify early and later events, the probable contextual significance of later parts of sites was often ignored.

The destruction of many churches during World War II precipitated the birth of church archaeology. Although churches played a major part within history, art and architecture, those in continued use were not perceived as appropriate for archaeological research. By the 1980s reduced congregations and resources resulted in the closure, sale, or demolition of many Anglican churches without recording how their interiors had been furnished**,** before formal underground excavations took place (Rodwell 1997: 5, 6). When archaeologists did consider churches, architectural components and styles were emphasized.

Only more recently have signs of remaining cyclically restored or re-ordered interiors that reflected changes in liturgical use been accepted as analytically valuable. Recognition that liturgical arrangements inside Anglican churches reflect prevalent rules, economic constraints, and tensions in the context of human agency facilitated this project. Evidence of commemoration suggest funding sources, which made some individuals and groups highly visible. Churches often outlive other buildings (Bryson 2011: 631), so the various architectural and liturgical phases, and their long material centrality to community life as parts of living systems, were appropriate subjects for this archaeological research.

Archaeology became more relevant academically from the 1960s by adopting the use of theory-led methodologies. General modern and post-modern theories have helped explain why particular subjects or places were chosen for investigation as well as why and how past human activity produced the materials in the forms they did. Processualist ideas contributed to this project by recognizing that reciprocal interactions between people and material culture told something about cultures and activities from inside and facilitated interest in why, rather than just how, cultural changes took place (Renfrew et al. 2000: 13, 16). This approach reveals something about perceptions and activities from inside the cultures involved by focusing onto broad similarities between people and long-term functional processes related to

material, so facilitating consideration of material life histories as a means to discover material activity. Processualists state biases openly and always look for general outcomes.

Once traditional theory could be challenged, more reflective multi-theory approaches that considered the validity of personal perceptions became the norm. Post-processualism

> provides the most useful framework for approaching the complexities of the past, allowing as it does for multiple interpretations, individual agency, the active role of material culture, the recognition of past complexity, the use of complex ethnographic analogy, and the realization that the role of the interpreter is not a neutral one

(Insoll 2004: 77).

Researchers using this approach, including the author, consider this as the only way to find out about how cultures really developed, albeit providing indefinite answers to questions about past human activity because of the subjectivity of the sources (Johnson 1999: 152). This approach reveals the diversity of materials and processes used, and how changes were made, in ways other approaches cannot.

A significant strength of post-processualism is its acceptance of comparisons between sources as a means for checking and balancing information. Social and other contexts formed part of this project, so archaeological applications of sociological theoretical models that recognize active, evolving people within ever-changing systems governed by rules made and interpreted by people seemed appropriate. Carefully considered concepts and terminology documented by specialists in the field of sociology were adopted. Discussions were expanded by considering artefacts in the contexts of social institutions, labour divisions, property and inheritance as well as social identities such as gender, occupation, ethnicity, age and status (Hodder 1997: 8).

Post-processualists accept utilization of multiple theoretical ideas within single research projects, and agree that human actions are only intelligible in terms of ideas and intention, which cannot be measured scientifically. All explanations are interpretations (Hodder 1999: 5). Gilchrist (1997: 15) considered that part of post-processual research's success was its premise of material/social inter-relationships

that created, sustained, managed and changed social identities and relationships. Church archaeology's recent acceptance of the interactivity of materials with people as evidence about the past challenged traditional classifications of architectural features which did not consider how patrons and artisans originally intended to influence human activity (Bannon 2004: 4).

Morris' (1989) use of new approaches in his *Churches in the Landscape* added much to an understanding of the history of British parish churches and their impact onto communities, although he excluded Manx and Welsh contexts. Silvester and Frost's 1999 surveys and the 2007 CPAT reports on various medieval Welsh churches recorded building phases and dated contents, but did not consider possible meanings for the arrangements noted, or the activities of the human agents involved in their implementation and use. Nevertheless, this facilitated this project, as did the lack of archaeological considerations of post-medieval Manx church interiors by others (Rodwell 1996: 202; Yates 2006: xxi). These omissions offered an opportunity to place a small number of Manx and Welsh communities into wider geographical and academic contexts archaeologically by asking questions about human and material activities related to changes noted over the *longue durée*.

Although this project investigated the liturgical arrangements inside churches for evidence of relationships with people, it was as much about historical archaeology as about church archaeology. Until recently, archaeology was perceived as only being supportive to historical investigations of this period. Archaeologists had to re-think their academic validity in the 1960s because scientific dating methods had become so efficient that archaeological date estimates became unnecessary. New archaeological theories began to inform methodologies. Historical archaeology differs from history or art history in that archaeologists consider material culture related to simple processes and ordinary people that may have been overlooked by historians and art historians (Deetz 1996: 37). Whereas historians perceive material as a passive 'mirror of past cultures and societies' (Giles 2000: 3), archeologists do not. Archaeological investigations of historical periods have added to the corpus of knowledge about human activity (Gem 1996: 2) by investigating materials produced for more practical and objective reasons than manuscripts. Their interpretation for evidence has been shown to be as relevant as that from other sources, so long as stringent methods are used (Gilchrist 1997: 12).

A number of essays about the archaeology of the Reformation (Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003) considered how Anglican *locales* added to the researcher's understanding of historical cultural issues, as did several church archaeology theses concentrating on the themes of contexts and human perceptions of, and interactivity with, materials. For example Peats (1998) revealed how the liturgical arrangements showed how those involved should move during Anglican services, defining the sacred and iconography more closely with human perception than with liturgies. His exploration of the services churches were designed for, metaphors and signs that guided parishioners away from certain areas to focus on others, and material arrangements and relationships for evidence about privacy, control, and independence, were all relevant, not least because he referred to documentary sources to support his archaeological findings. Bannon (2004: 7) also recommended that documentary sources facilitate an understanding of former liturgical arrangements and help link changes in function with changed religious paradigms. Douglas (2003) researched the archaeology of memory related to the architecture of English parish churches, and explored *habitus*, perceptions and material activity. Oakey (2003: 59) noted three categories of medieval material culture in their 'construction', 'placement' and condition which, inside churches, might tell the researcher 'as much about the attitude of people towards it since its creation as they do about the impulses which prompted the original construction.' All contributed useful English historically, and archaeologically, appropriate methodological contexts to this project.

Acceptance of the importance of properties of church furnishings and their arrangement to an investigation about human activity based on structuration theory reiterated the relevance of the numerous official Anglican sources identified in the historical research section above. Terriers list the presence of materials; visitation returns often commented on their condition, and various minutes and churchwardens' accounts noted purchases, repairs, renovations and conflicts. Court records logged seating arrangements whilst Faculty approval for new items implied changed arrangements, and maybe rules. Significantly, both Manx and Welsh sources were written in English and dated. But White (1997: 249) warned against accepting all written in official documents as true. Scribes may have recorded what was accepted as best practice at visitations rather than what actually happened in efforts to please ecclesiastical authorities. Visitations were staggered and the same

questions were not always asked in different dioceses. Although official sources provided dated administrative information about liturgical materials, each was constrained by its own remit and by its surviving condition.

Close links between archaeology and history (Johnson 1999: 149) implied historical archeologists should engage with historical sources as contexts for facts and individual viewpoints (ibid: 155). Private lives can be more fully defined and put into context from the use of documentary sources than without, even if these sources were public ones (Mytum 2008: 790). Deetz suggested the value of using 'archaeological informants' amongst other sources accessed (1996: 9). Notes from the twentieth-century Manx Folk Life Survey (MNH MFLS) when elderly residents were interviewed about childhood memories proved to be a source of corroborative evidence relevant to this study despite the pitfalls involved in interpreting transcriptions not contemporary with materials and events described.

Seating arrangements within churches was one context that the author sought to explore. A number of sources reflected continued and changing social interactions related to such furnishings. Gough's 1702 account of community life in his parish pre-empted modern archaeological scholarship by referring to the material seating arrangements inside his parish church as evidence of the changing fortunes of parishioners, and the prevalent rules and resources available, although he did not develop this theme. Underdown (1992), Brown (1998), Wright (2002), Flather (2007), and IOM and National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Church Recorders' variously dated records of Anglican seating arrangements all provided evidence relevant to this project. Many were descriptive. Only Flather and Wright considered concepts of sacred space as contexts for human perceptions about social capital. However, all provided a wealth of archaeologically-significant information about human and related material activity that assisted in the comparison of two regionally-specific sets of ever-changing historical perceptions, social experiences, and economic conditions.

Gray (2009) and Mytum (2010a) recognized that human agency allocated activity to domestic spaces and furnishings. It seemed any long-lived *locale* where evidence of continued or changed material arrangements was discovered might be investigated archaeologically for evidence of human/material interactive discourse. Interior arrangements are as valuable as actual remnants of earlier interactivities,

albeit transformed during their life, probably incomplete, and in need of analysis for evidence of patterns and meanings related to human activities and perceptions.

A methodology based on post-processualism seemed particularly applicable because this project concentrated on the reciprocal nature of social systems constructed by people that also control their behaviour (Gilchrist (1997: 14). Temporary liturgical furnishings manufactured and arranged by human actors have influenced others' behaviour, so could be analysed for evidence about those involved. No other method respected personal paradigms to the same degree or accepted multiple meanings for materials which, inside churches, reflected liturgical use whilst also having different, more personal meanings, for some. However, human perceptions cannot be measured or monitored. So, consideration of a wide range of contexts facilitated an understanding of specific events from previously unconsidered viewpoints, even though conclusions reached could never be definitive.

Post-processualists attempt to understand social and other actions from inside societies (Johnson 1999: 79, 89) and support suggestions that idealist philosophies are unattainable. An empathetic phenomenological approach that considers the thoughts and values of the past validates each viewpoint. Post-processualists try to take a bottom-up approach, looking for evidence about ordinary people, rather than just the achievements of the privileged. Like Marxists, they consider conflicts between social groups, albeit as the active nature of all individuals and their strategies that have always been part of the dynamic processes that produce cultures. The significance of *Annales* ideas as part of long or shorter processes as discussed above, remain as applicable to archaeological as to historical research.

1960s feminist theory challenged philosophies largely discussed and documented by men which did not reflect female paradigms. Initially, these focused on social inequalities between men and women, asking that things not noticed by men be acknowledged. Once it was accepted that perceptions could not be neutral, more general gender theory recognized the unique personal perceptions of all individuals because of their different experiences of power relationships during the various stages of their lives. Awareness of gender theory reminded the author to re-examine her own values and to challenge any personal presumptions that might intrude into analytical processes (Gilchrist1997: 193). However, a feminist approach was not pursued because during the *longue durée* this project covered, the Church, as

most other organizations, was a male preserve within which changes or perpetuated practices reflected male decision-making, even if devotion included females.

Marxist theory allocates higher value to corporate perceptions than to those of individuals (Elster 1999: 21) and to material rather than to ideas (Johnson 1999: 92). 'Spiritual and temporal leaders' probably manipulated liturgies 'for their own ends' (Graves 2000: 3). Strongly related to industrialization and production, Marxism embraces the inevitable conflicts between workers, the raw materials they work with and those who manage them. Social change was reflected in transformation from small-scale local artisanship to mass production. Human history was 'about the growth of human productive power, the growing human ability as history unfolds to produce material things:' (Johnson 1999: 92). Although Marxism predates processualism, both advocate the generalizations relevant to this project. Marxist awareness of 'contradictions and inequalities in culture' (ibid: 96) suggest the inevitability of human conflict, and that the rules may not have reflected what people wanted. Therefore Marxism informs processual, structuralist and structuration theories that apply to church archaeology if one accepts the largely structural nature of society and institutions. Processualism, which deliberates on the formation of societies and their meanings, became linked with structuralism, which considers how societies as entities were divided by prevalent rules and conventions. The author accepted the importance of models like the work by Marxist archaeologist Mrozowski (2006) who utilized structural theory when exploring material evidence of intergenerational conflict, and Giddens' (1979a: 74) reminder of the applicability of processual ideas that recognizes the different starting points for every generation because of the effects of inevitable technical advances. However, a Marxist approach could not determine small-scale changes or discover the perceptions of ordinary people inside churches because theological ideas displayed in liturgical arrangements have not always reflected actual events (Masinton 2006: 36). Perceptions of the superior social status of clerics, regulation of contents, and dependence on clerical approval meant that items inside churches were often of high aesthetic and material quality, or at least the best individuals and communities could afford. Well-made items and buildings have survived better than poorly made examples, so materials found do not always reflect more general use accurately, although their presence tells researchers what some individual and group activity could achieve in buying power or craftsmanship. Although Marxists accept

that changes in practice reflected in the material become part of the *habitus* for later generations, this theory was unable to explain that this was why conclusions could never be definitive. Marxism relates power directly to class and infers that when class ceased to exist so would power. This was not applicable to this project because religious discourses have continued to require the involvement of authority figures, whatever those individuals' social status within other *locales* and fields.

The tensions between those of different classes that produced significant ideas about personal capital and agency were developed into structuration theory by twentieth-century social theorists Giddens and Bourdieu.

Structuration theory

The literature review identified structuration theory as applicable to this project because of its emphasis on the interdependence of rules and action (Giddens 1979a: 69). Human actors constructed implicit or explicit rules based on memories and perceptions of what worked in the past, even if some memories were hopelessly idealized. Ideas were based on perpetuating, or challenging, the memories that generated them. Critically, structuration's acceptance of the temporality of all activities, systems and their material outcomes (ibid: 60) provided contexts and ensured time-specific interpretations. This also applies to individuals' contributions as agents. The ability of some to oblige others to carry out specific tasks, or of others to carry out those designated tasks, has always necessarily constrained by human lifespans. Structuration theories explain why the successive agents who constructed, organized and used the periodically re-arranged, specifically decorated furniture inside churches may have done so by asking about prevalent regulations and the variable availability of material, money, or human skills to communities.

> In structuration theory 'structure' is regarded as rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction; institutionalized features of social systems have structural properties in the sense that relationships are stabilized across time and space. 'Structure' can be conceptualized abstractly as two aspects of rules – normative elements and codes of signification. Resources are also of two kinds: authoritative resources, which derive from the co-ordination of the activity of human agents, and allocative resources,

> which stem from control of material products or of aspects of the material world
>
> (ibid. 1993: xxxi).

Social systems have reflected preconditions and outcomes of such interactions (ibid. 1979a: 69). Complex overlapping rules were based on tradition and power relationships. Institutions like the Church displayed group interdependence managed by rules that combined idealist concepts based on memories and accepted social norms of available resources, although rule-makers may have been unaware of actual conditions or personal capabilities, so producing unrealistically-optimistic tenets. Consequences were sometimes unintentional. Material cultures reflected actual human perceptions at particular times within the social and geographical places occupied by the actors involved.

Individuals have always been the most essential organizational resource. Some provided ways, some means. Some carried out decided-on tasks, others organized proceedings and provided funding. Each contributed according to personal life experiences, paradigms, skills, and economic capital. Socially higher-placed individuals' perceptions may have depreciated the skills or contributions of those lower down and vice versa. Little material evidence of unsuccessful challenges has survived but contexts often revealed something about contemporary constraining or enabling *habitus*.

Personal *habitus* has conditioned everyone from birth. Individual and 'collective practices and perceptions based on rules taught deliberately or unwittingly become unconscious' (Bourdieu 1994b: 278, 281) so guaranteed 'the active presence of past experiences [...]' as 'more reliable than all formal rules and explicit norms' (ibid: 279). *Habitus* gives 'disproportionate weight to early experiences' (ibid.), so some group practices outlived the economic and social conditions for which they were produced. Actions were often irrational because most actors have not had all the information necessary to make truly informed decisions about the activities they carried out (ibid: 287-8), although *habitus* is a practical way for people to deal with everyday life.

Inevitably, private world-views have always intruded into people's work. Bourdieu argued that human perceptions revealed in materials or documents suggestive of prevalent conventions and related tensions, whether acted upon or not,

are ‘a veritable language’ (1998: 8) which could be interpreted. For instance, researchers detecting changes made to liturgical arrangements inside churches that reflected inconsistencies in social capital, paradigms, relationships and availability of resources, have been able to discover something about the different starting point of *habitus* for each generation. Giddens agreed that analysis of material, which relies on agent activity and has been closely linked with power relationships within the context of rules and resources, must reveal something about the individuals involved, the constraints they practiced within and the consequences of their actions (1979b: 232). Although Giddens has been criticized by sociologists for associating individuals so closely with the rules and resources (Haralambos et al. 2000: 1068), his suggestions offered practical ways of exploring relationships between structure and agency because evidence of prevalent rules and resources available across the social spectrum has been brought together prominently in the position, style, condition and other characteristics of the material culture found inside churches.

Modern practice accepts that archaeologists bring their own personal perceptions and experiences to investigations, within the contexts of their personal experiences of life (Moshenska 2013: 249). Evidence collected cannot be ‘neutral’ because data are inevitably manipulated. Interpreted outcomes cannot but be related to researchers' personal choices and perceptions. To counterbalance, Mytum (2010b: 238) advised researchers to declare decisions made precisely, and explain processes briefly by referencing to precedents and described modes of practice. No one can avoid making at least some unwitting assumptions, however carefully they seek to avoid subjectivity, so the author considered various explanations for material culture found. Meanings discovered are relevant so long as assumptions have been clearly stated and justified. Hart (2002: 23) agreed that the imaginary element to research need not detract from the relevance of outcomes, so long as stringent scientific processes are followed.

Bourdieu based his ideas largely on structuralism, Marxism, and phenomenology. Phenomenologists accepting that personal experiences inform the material world (Renfrew et al. 2012, 44) ask questions aimed at empathizing with those from the past, in order to share something of their experiences. Although phenomenology has contributed to this project because of close relationships between human perceptions and material activity, it could not help discover why individuals felt as they did because of its rejection of the relevance of power to

personal perceptions. Artists and architects have long understood and exploited human emotional responses to colour, light, sound, form, texture and style. These sensory factors facilitate archaeological investigations because of phenomenological acceptance that materials found reflect patrons', manufacturers' and users' social and cultural ideas. The challenge was to empathize with individuals and/or groups far removed in time and place from one's own in order to come up with possible past meanings for artefacts. Phenomenology

> attempts to reveal the world as it is actually experienced directly by a subject as opposed to how we might theoretically assume it to be. The aim is not to explain the world (in terms, say, of physical causality or historical events or psychological dispositions) but to describe the world as precisely as possible in the manner in which human beings experience it

(Tilley 2004: 1).

Traditional perceptions of 'up' or 'raised' as representative of power, nobleness, goodness, privilege, and of 'down' as representing darkness, death and defilement (ibid: 6), perpetuated into the present, provide archaeological evidence about power relationships. Everyone has been habituated from birth to look upwards for correction, advice and direction and would associate a raised monarch's throne, judge's seat or pulpit with authority. Bourdieu developed this phenomenological tool within structuration theory to include opposites in relation to *habitus* over varying time scales, as evidence about how people may have thought in the past. He explained power differentials as determined by the capital status of individuals, or the social groups within which they live, emphasizing differences rather than shared properties. Particularly, he noted accumulation of cultural capital as prestigious and influential, especially if individuals or small groups tried to rise within social systems (Swartz 1997: 163-4).

There may have been different ways to be 'up' or 'down' within theologically-led liturgical restraints, diocesan requirements for uniformity, or social expectations of compliance. Liturgies were only partially based on theology, so post-processualists consider material contexts and analogize these with texts (Giles 2000: 3). This relationship between materials as texts, and people as readers, was critical (Smith 1998: 252) because this project sought to detect meanings intended by

those who prescribed, manufactured and/or arranged liturgical furnishings, and how others may have interpreted these meanings. Places and spaces attain significance by what was supposed to happen within the physical arrangements, and by what actually took place there, by whom, at any particular time. Masinton (2006: 8) agreed with Graves that although 'liturgical texts are sets of instructions: they are not testimonials of what actually happened [...]' (2000: 9), which challenged Marxist ideas that empowered institutional size over more local traditions. Inside churches, clerical prescriptions did not always inhibit people so severely that there was no room for expressions of personal paradigms within church buildings. Powerful agents enabled by their high capital status may have been constrained by the larger number of consumers with less capital necessary to any institution. Consumers in turn may have become empowered by their very numbers, albeit restrained by their economic reliance on those with higher economic capital. Recurrent power struggles between individuals and groups were reflected in repeatedly-modified systems, as priorities and social dynamics changed.

Large institutions segregate members (Foucault 1976: 194), with behaviour regulated from above and by peers. Power generates enjoyment for some, accumulates information, and creates dialogues (ibid. 1977: 203), but only because individuals have been conditioned to accept it. Power works best when visible but unverifiable. Ideally, those controlled never know when they are being observed (ibid. 1975: 210). This concept mechanized relationships between participants and material in liturgies, even if those involved were unfamiliar with the material arrangements. Social discipline, a type of power (ibid: 211), diffused uncertainty and counteracted the effects of resistance (ibid: 213). The management of *habitus* within institutions co-ordinated practice and ensured a common code that reduced tensions (Bourdieu 1977: 81) because those involved complied (ibid: 82). 'Each agent, wittingly or unwittingly [...] is a producer and reproducer of objective meaning [...]. It is because subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know' (ibid: 79). Practices could only be accounted for in the context of time and place-related rules that defined the production of *habitus* (ibid: 78). Bourdieu's ideas are clearly applicable to Anglican discourses, which have always been about relationships between clergy and parishioners.

A church nave with a central aisle leading towards a raised, decorated, highlighted altar only becomes active when someone enters the building. How people then conduct themselves depends to a large extent on their *habitus*, but also on factors like the occasion and how others present behave. Individuals unconsciously become agents and models just because groups often defer to each other's behaviour by replicating it. So *habitus* enables or disables individuals, depending on circumstances. Material arrangements speak differently to different people, but during Anglican services they have long suggested conventional social behaviour, thus allowing subsequent, usually familiar, discourses to take place.

However, institutions have reflected individuals who interpreted rules differently from each other because of the unique nature of each person's *habitus,* even if many factors were shared. Social systems have been constructed by actors based on personal perceptions and interpretations of what was there in the past. Social and economic differentials have contributed to social classifications, but also to tensions and competition between those within particular classes.

Perceptions of personal value have been related to time and place. Individuals or groups from different cultures or who were perceived to challenge the prevalent culture may have been deliberately excluded socially, whatever their cultural accumulation, in order to maintain power. Such motivation sometimes endorsed competitive behaviour or social restrictions within the rules, which were then perpetuated from generation to generation as part of institutional structure. Material changes, which had to be subtle in order to meet some sort of consensus, influenced how each system progressed. Practice within one element eventually influenced others. Therefore past and present practices are closely related, and linked material arrangements are active.

Structuration theory facilitated the discovery of the overt rules and more covert conventions that governed people with various social capital at different times, through the characteristics of Anglican material culture manufactured, used, and modified by human actors. The practical nature of structuration theory to explore relationships between material culture and people was demonstrated by Graves (1989: 301), Bannon (2004), and Bartrum (2005). This approach seemed particularly applicable to this project's aim to focus onto issues about the social structure of past societies. Anglican canons provided general rules (Bray, 1998). Liturgical texts were sets of instructions (Graves 2000: 8). The challenge was to

interpret official accounts that contained strong dated evidence about the material arrangements inside churches and changes made in the contexts of prevalent social paradigms and variations in regional and parochial access to the resources required to implement installation.

Gosden and Marshall's (2010: 169) suggestion that archaeologists compose artefact biographies concentrating less on material function, date and style and more on production and consumption within specific social contexts and consequences could be applied to churches and their contents. Biographical studies have contributed towards understanding active relationships between people and material culture by identifying possible perceptions of material changes made (ibid: 177), thus allowing for detailed analyses of periods of material activity, and inactivity, with people, over time. Mytum (2010c) demonstrated the value of a post-processual approach to his biographical interpretation of material and documentary findings within a farm, by linking the people who once lived there with the archaeologists exploring the site. Kopytoff's (1998: 68) suggestions to consider economic, technical and social issues as well as the history of ownership in loosening or strengthening social and/or cultural ties and long-term issues seemed particularly relevant to structuration ideas about access to resources related to time, and to social and geographical place. Consideration of ecclesiastical spaces and material culture for activity and meaning has as much, or more, in common with historical archaeology as with church archaeology, and biographies can expose much about changing relationships between individuals, groups and the material culture involved, as demonstrated in a number of case studies within this work.

All systems, institutions, and processes are active because related cyclical processes link present generations with those of the past. What once happened predicts subsequent governance of events and behaviour. Therefore, field visits to old churches in continued use have contributed to the wider picture because the arrangements are related to how earlier furnishings were used. Such institutions have long been perpetuated. Although liturgical arrangements have changed in style, modifications were usually regulated from within, because any changes in material or processes had to remain at least recognizable compared with what was replaced in order to minimize disruption to day-to-day practices. There seemed little need for a dominant figure to enforce accepted rules during services because most of those involved knew roughly what was going on and what was expected of them based on

habitus and material prompts, even if they did not understand in detail what made a specific system work. Requirements for deference that formed part of strategies compiled by those in positions of high cultural, social and economic capital impacted onto other individuals, and the choices they made. These practices excluded outsiders and possibly led to conflict between groups and/or the formation of new groups, but those within each system bonded together by their familiarity with accepted conventions. Evidence of material change was often the first indication of altered power dynamics and contemporary perceptions of meaning.

Jackson emphasized the importance of human responses to things by those associated with them (1998: 95). Artefacts elicit responses so, in that sense, all materials have been active in the presence of people. The use of materials found inside churches has been related to social, economic and cultural changes and to social mobility (Douglas 2003, abstract), just as household furnishings have. But the time frame of investigations inside churches could be extended since church furnishings often survive longer than domestic furniture. This may have been because parish churches were *locales* for the active collective memories that structured social identity (ibid: 1) rather than the shorter, more personal memories and relationships that household material culture may have represented. Long-lived church furnishings sometimes indicated group resistance to change (ibid.) or the intricacies of the formal requirements involved when the instalment of new items was proposed (Pounds 2000: 397). Such formalities probably discouraged some applications for Faculty permission to make changes in the contexts of literacy, time, and funding challenges, alongside other time-consuming preoccupations with survival of self and family. Official processes and disputes were often prolonged and intricate, (albeit helpfully for the author, usually well documented, and retained), thus providing evidence of the opinions of several people or groups about what materials or arrangements were once required or requested, and subsequent outcomes. The longevity of ecclesiastical material culture also reflected the remembered and learned relationships between the living and the dead, as well as time and place-specific access to funding, manpower, skills and technology by individuals or groups.

> The greatest contribution of post-processualism to archaeology is its premise that material culture is active in social relations. Far from merely reflecting

> society, material culture can be seen to construct, maintain, control and transform social identities and relations

(Gilchrist 1997: 15).

No other approach seemed to respect personal paradigms or accept that materials might have multiple meanings to the same degree, which meant that church materials might also be shown to convey, not only their official, ecclesiastical meaning, but others to those in the congregation. But human perceptions cannot be measured or monitored. Changes in practice reflected in the material become part of the *habitus* of later generations. Thus, it seemed consideration of evidence of a wide range of material characteristics within the contexts of material culture formerly unexplored from this perspective could add to a fuller understanding of past paradigms and relationships.

The post-processual nature of structuration theory that analogises texts with material culture accepts the relevance of evidence about materials from documentary sources. Official documentation unconsciously revealed how ecclesiastical material culture was used in bygone times, its meaning, and when. Deetz (1996: 23) agreed that 'chronology in archaeology is one of the cornerstones for all analysis.' Bannon (2004: abstract) showed her use of documentary and other sources contributed considerably in demonstrating that ecclesiastical material has never been static.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the history of archaeology highlighted the value of gaining '[…] new insights into the academic, intellectual, political, economic and institutional structures […]' (Moshenska 2013: 248) with which this project aimed to forge links. Contemplation of a wide variety of sources confirmed the relevance of evaluating historical ecclesiastical material culture when attempting to discover past material activity and human perceptions of said arrangements. Aside from Yates' limited work, evaluation of the literature was unable to identify any comprehensive consideration of historical Manx church interiors that placed related communities into wider geographical and archaeological contexts.

Reflexion of the processes that have taken place over time and contributed towards the development of modern research methods identified the significance of

the key concepts of human/material interactivity, and of geographical, social and other contexts, to such investigations. The structuration approach used in a number of recent, related, research projects matched with this project's aim to contribute to contemporary historical, church-archaeology scholarship.

The literature review revealed that an archaeological assessment of church furnishings by means of structuration, and artefact and human biography, would be able to discover perceptions of meanings for the material culture analysed. The approach taken aims to place the regions explored into the academic archaeological corpus for the first time, and to identify possibilities for further research.

The following methodology recorded the logistical organization of this research project within the context of conclusions drawn from the foregone evaluation of related literature.

Chapter II

Methodology

> ‘All archaeologists who are at work today agree that
> some intelligent research design should underlie their studies,
> and that it should be spelled out in some detail
> before the first shovelful of soil is removed from a site’
> (Deetz 1996: 43)

Hart (2002: 17) recommended early clarification of a practicable process to steer the aims of this project towards meeting the academic objectives identified. The following methodology details the planned purpose and process of the research project undertaken between 2007 and 2013 within the themes of Anglican liturgical arrangements, historical archaeology, structuration theory, human agency, material activity, and artefact biography, all chosen as means to explore past social and other relationships. The aim was to base its format and style on accepted scholastic conventions with expectations of an academic readership in mind.

The literature review strongly confirmed the suitability of church contents as a subject for academic research in contributing usefully towards an investigation about human and human/material interactions. The author’s long interest in religious buildings and their use, of the Manx Anglican Church in particular, and involvement in recording furnishings within a number of Manx churches according to methodologies compiled and monitored by NADFAS, facilitated familiarity with the contents and arrangements inside Anglican buildings. Awareness of associated terminology, conventions related to access, appropriate behaviour, health and safety issues, and experience in accessing appropriate sources of information prompted the proposal to investigate the contents of post-Reformation churches. Although this confined the proposed research to ‘the field defined by the Christian liturgy’ (Graves 1989: 297), that seemed appropriate because of early-modern requirements, enforced by the ecclesiastical courts, that all attend Anglican services. The way the spaces and furnishings were structured and arranged inside churches could be considered as microcosms of society (Gem 1996: 1). Internal arrangements reflect social

relationships, compromise, and regional traits (Peats 1998: 1-13). Evidence about the way churches were once furnished has revealed much about the structure of past communities (Pounds 2000: 397) and critically, compared with more recent arrangements, how and when they have changed since, although any evidence about how arrangements were altered over time has to be interpreted carefully in order to understand something about the societies involved with them (Baker 2005: 12).

Another advantage of concentrating on church interiors to find out about related past human activity was the considerable amount of research recently carried out in this field. Recent literature strongly confirmed that a structuration approach when considering domestic furnishings was as appropriate to an investigation of church contents.

Assessment of material culture

Once the parameters of church contents, historical archaeology, archaeological biography and structuration theory were clarified by an examination of the literature, an appropriate recording method for data gathering was devised. Gibson (2002), Douglas (2003), and Masington (2006) all considered large numbers of buildings before analysing details of substantially reduced lists in more depth. Their methods seemed appropriate models for assessing the suitability of buildings to include in a study that aspired to consider human/material interactivity over nearly three hundred years.

Manx churches were visited to assess their contents (Table 1). Buildings with restricted access were excluded, as were those where lone field work posed health and safety risks. The buildings investigated were standing medieval and subsequent parish churches and chapels-of-ease situated within the seventeen ancient Manx parishes (Figure 5). The availability of related documentation was gauged in local archives.

It soon became clear that, despite the relatively small number of long-standing parishes in the Isle of Man, a limit would have to be put on the number of buildings considered because of time and length restrictions imposed on this project, and the aim to place two Insular communities within wider contexts over the *longue durée*. Parishes with churches that only contained material evidence of short time periods were excluded. The list of buildings considered was reduced to those within

Table 1:

Manx churches considered initially

Kirk Michael Parish Church consecrated in 1833, including Bishopscourt pro-cathedral consecrated in 1858. No surviving immediate predecessors

Ballaugh Parish Church consecrated in 1832 and its adjacent medieval predecessor

Jurby Parish Church consecrated in 1829. Its immediate predecessor has not survived

Andreas Parish Church consecrated in 1821 and its chapel-of-ease at St Jude's consecrated in 1841. No surviving immediate predecessors

Bride Parish Church consecrated in 1876. No surviving immediate predecessor
Lezayre Parish Church consecrated in 1835. Its immediate predecessor has not survived

The Ramsey Churches consecrated in 1822 and 1881

Lonan Parish Church consecrated in 1834 and its medieval predecessor

Onchan Parish Church consecrated around 1833. Its immediate predecessor has not survived

Santon medieval Parish Church largely re-built in 1774

Castletown Parish Church consecrated in 1826 and its medieval and 1701 predecessors. Remnants of the medieval building have survived

Rushen Parish Church partially re-built around 1775 and its three nineteenth-century chapels-of-ease

Arbory Parish Church consecrated in 1757. Nothing of its predecessor has survived

Malew medieval Parish Church and its chapels-of-ease at St. Mark's consecrated in 1772, Ballasalla consecrated in 1896 and Derbyhaven built in 1897

The 19th c. cathedral in Peel and ruins of associated earlier parish churches including the parish churches at St. John's consecrated in 1847 and Patrick consecrated in1881, and the chapels-of-ease to Patrick at Dalby consecrated in 1839 and Foxdale consecrated in 1880

Braddan Parish Church consecrated in 1876 and its adjacent medieval parish church as well as its chapels-of-ease and the new Douglas parishes formed from the parish of Braddan in the 19th c.

Marown Parish Church consecrated in 1859 and its medieval predecessor

six parishes (Table 2) based on the researcher's assessment of the availability of material and/or documentary evidence of sequential arrangements within single or related buildings.

Consideration of the revised list raised issues about how representative the parishes concerned might be of Manx communities in general. The Insular rural economy dictated the inclusion of at least one country parish. Consideration of Manx historical contexts revealed past ecclesiastical/civil tensions that might be evident materially within Island churches. As early-modern civil authorities gathered in the ancient, southern capital of Castletown (Figure 6), the three Castletown chapels-of-ease which came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the parish church of Kirk Malew seemed particularly pertinent, even though the chapel built in 1701 had been demolished and the remnants of the medieval and 1826 chapels have long been used for secular purposes. However, the considerable, albeit secular, documentation found about these buildings seemed to mitigate their rejection as sources, given their centrality to early-modern ecclesiastical and civil governance in Man. So the parish of Malew was selected. A fourth chapel-of-ease at St Mark's in the same parish was included as a provincial contrast to the Castletown chapels. The entirely rural parish of Ballaugh in the north of the Island far from any centre of civil governance was chosen to draw as marked an Insular distinction as possible with Malew (Table 3). The small physical areas these two parishes covered seemed immaterial in the context of post-processual acceptance of the relevance of small-scale studies.

A key concept of this project was that continued interaction has structured social relationships between those who attended churches and interacted with the liturgical arrangements inside each. Giddens emphasized the relevance of time-space intersections and cyclical patterns to social structure (1985: 267). He proposed three intersecting moments of difference: temporality, pragmatism, and spatiality that facilitated choices about material culture chosen, as did Bourdieu's comment that '... the deepest logic of the social world can be grasped only if one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but with the objective of constructing it as a "special case of what is possible," ...' (1994a: 268). Viewing structural and modern arrangements inside churches imaginatively provided clues about possible earlier layouts, and evidence of original intensions and actual use since. Bannon (2004: 7) agreed that distinct stages of church building could 'be

Table 2:

Six Manx parishes with long-surviving and/or well-documented sequences of material culture

Rural:
Ballaugh (1832) parish church and its adjacent medieval predecessor
Lonan (1834) parish church and its pre-Reformation predecessor
Marown (19th c.) parish church and its pre-Reformation predecessor
Rushen (18th c.) parish church and its three nineteenth-century chapels-of-ease

Control of urban and rural areas:
Braddan (19th c.) parish church, its adjacent medieval parish church, its chapels-of-ease in Baldwin and Douglas and the subsequent 19th century Douglas parish churches

Malew (medieval) parish church and its chapels-of-ease at St. Mark's (built in 1772), Ballasalla (built in 1896) and Derbyhaven (built in 1898). Malew also contained one medieval chapel-of-ease and two others built in 1701 and 1826 in Castletown until 1920.

Table 3:

Manx churches and chapels-of-ease chosen

St Mary de Ballaugh medieval Parish Church (SC341957) hereafter called **old Ballaugh**

St Mary de Ballaugh Parish Church (SC345939) consecrated in 1832 hereafter called **new Ballaugh**

St Lupus' medieval Parish Church of Malew (SC268694) hereafter called **Kirk Malew**, its three consecutive chapels-of-ease in Castletown which lay within the parish of Malew until 1920, and its chapel-of-ease in the village of St Mark's:

St Mary's medieval Chapel (SC265674) hereafter called **medieval St Mary's Castletown**

St Mary's Chapel consecrated in 1701 (SC265674) hereafter called **1701 St Mary's Castletown**

St Mary's Chapel consecrated in 1826 (SC265674) hereafter called **1826 St Mary's Castletown**

St Mark's Chapel (SC295740) consecrated in 1772 hereafter called **St Mark's**

linked to changes in function or changes in religious attitude.' The following brief case studies of the seven Manx parish churches and chapels-of-ease selected for study familiarizes readers with each building, and with selected categories of contents.

Old Ballaugh

Old Ballaugh Parish Church, situated on a hill within the northern Manx plain within the rural parish of Ballaugh since medieval times, was constructed from locally sourced materials. Its visibility within the landscape as a devotional, as well as practical, landmark was surely planned although its low, simple form suggested function rather than aspiration. This was reflected in associated parsonages. When William Walker arrived in 1703 he found the rectory 'virtually ruinous' (Gelling 1998: 18). Although he renovated it, apparently his successor was inactive in this respect because it deteriorated again (ibid: 19).

Some details of the developmental phases of this church were discovered (Figures 7a-c). A nineteenth-century copy (Oliver 1868) of a *c.*1700 original image of this building (Figure 8) depicts a rustic, two-roomed structure with south entrance. Around 1717 key agent Bishop Wilson actively facilitated demolition of the chancel as part of wider Insular church building schemes (Gelling 1998: 3, 17). The new east extension (Figure 9) reflected the increased congregation also visible in contemporary seating arrangements (MNH PR, Mixed Register 1714; MNH EPR 1740).

When wind and sea eroded the adjacent western shoreline, the village seaport disappeared. The local community relocated further inland and built themselves a new church. The old church became derelict, suggesting its susceptibility to the elements. However, around 1849, as a response to parishioners' requests, it was re-opened for services. Apparently the site, and/or the building, held special cultural memories for some that the new church was unable to satisfy. The 1717 chancel and part of the eastern end of the medieval nave were demolished and the remaining structure divided into a much smaller chancel and nave, and re-roofed (Figure 10). The bespoke, once-numbered benches and matching roof beams (Figure 11) suggested local activity and artisanship. Installation of numbered benches instead of doored pews, the unclosed ceiling, and the eclectic style of other furnishings implied

strained financial and other resources also apparent in the rope communion rail in use until 1978 (MNH DD Cronk-y-Voddy). Since then, chancel and nave have remained undefined structurally (Figures 12, 13). The small, probably locally-constructed table (Figure 14), candlesticks acquired in 1960 (Figure 15), and the altar cross donated in 1929 (Figure 16) implied the continued, shared low-church preferences of successive incumbents and congregations. Images of old plate (Figure 17a) and that in more recent use (Figure 17b) indicated long devotional practices. The Decalogue (Figure 18) in English reflected the lack of written vernacular language in Man.

Comparisons of seating plans (Figures 19, 20) suggested relative congregational stability until the nineteenth century, despite the vigorous Nonconformist activity visible in the local landscape from around 1778. The present condition of this interior implies limited use by those with moderate dissident leanings, within continued economic constraints. The building's material presence does not resonate as widely as it once did, its diminished prominence in the landscape owing much to its reduced size from 1849, and the small wood that has sprung up around it.

New Ballaugh

The new church built in Ballaugh in 1832 (Figure 21) that marked changes from a local sea-based to an agrarian economy was funded largely by Bishop Ward's, and Rector Hugh Stowell's, activities in soliciting funding from England (Ward *c.* 1830). The building was specifically designed for Protestant worship that focused on all present being able to hear the Word of God (Figure 22). Despite being built on a plain, of stone sourced in the Island, its tall tower has remained a local landmark with which numerous Nonconformist chapels have never attempted to compete.

Tensions between successive bishops and non-extreme dissident members of the local community were evident inside. The William IV Arms probably installed sometime after 1832 (Figure 23) suggested that Englishman Bishop Ward actively encouraged mainstream Anglican ideas focused on the monarchy as supreme head of the Church. However, by the *fin de siècle* the congregation had become even more active. Although they were offered three choices for planned seating renovations, two reflecting Nonconformist, and one acceptable Anglican ecclesiological, seating

arrangements, and the bishop supported the installation of central aisle and un-doored benches (Kermode et al. 1877-1934: 75), in 1892/3 doored pews were installed without a central aisle (Figures 24, 25). This unusually-late installation in the context of English practice (Brandwood 2011: 293) manifested the collective conservative *habitus*. Rejection of the suggested models, even though two reflected low-church paradigms, and perpetuation of the 1832 arrangements, told of strong communal self-confidence and agency, perhaps facilitated by the contemporary changes in episcopal and parochial incumbency that coincided with this activity. Definition of chancel and nave, once visible in the encaustic chancel floor tiles (Figure 26) that became blurred materially when the entire floor was carpeted, reiterated the community's shared reluctance to embrace ecclesiological ideas. The large, tall, white pulpit (Figure 27) located within the chancel was surely actively placed to catch the eye on entry into the building, and to overshadow the new, but much plainer, altar (Figure 28). Altar candles and the altar cross which only came into use in 1925 (Figures 29, 30) reiterated this congregations' shared puritan devotional practices, despite their decorative style. The liturgical arrangements revealed as much about perpetuated communal practices as about Anglicanism.

Kirk Malew

The west end of Kirk Malew (Figure 31), in the parish of Malew in the south of the Isle of Man, has survived since at least medieval times. Two motifs (Figure 32) suggested early links with the Derby Lordships of Man. The retained medieval silver paten (Figure 33) reflected the activities of an affluent pre-Reformation donor, and of others keen to preserve these reminders of past memories safe during the many changed styles in ecclesiastical governance that took place after the sixteenth century.

The many memorial plaques, and the presence of the Decalogue in English (MNH VR 1634) at a time when most natives spoke only Manx, manifested this building's long-held status as parish church of the Island's capital Castletown, with its high proportion of English residents. However, this church's activities as a landmark were curtailed by it being situated well outside this small, but locally significant, town in a flat, rural landscape, but within sight of the very much more structurally-impressive Castle Rushen. The simple 1700 image (Figure 34) reflected

local puritan paradigms, constrained access to building materials, and minimal activity by the impropriators, the Lords of Man. An entry in the register reflected newly-appointed Bishop Barrow's agency in eradicating the activities of some vicars who kept 'victualling Houses' [*sic*] (MNH PR 1667) to supplement their incomes. In 1761 Rev. John Gill was presented because he would not live in Malew vicarage which 'was in ruins' (Gelling 1998: 38). Feltham (1798: 100) commented on the absence of a parsonage in Malew.

Neither was there much evidence of human activity in maintaining nave or chancel. Visitation returns indicated that both were poorly maintained throughout much of the period studied, although a floor plan (Figure 35) depicting the structurally-separate chancel and the new north transept built around 1780 (MNH VR, 1782) reflected a short affluent period related to the collapse of the Castletown economy after the Island was sold to England in 1765, and subsequent swelling of the Kirk Malew congregation by more active entrepreneurial newcomers from England. The silver chalices acquired around the same time (Figure 36) reiterated increased contemporary human activity, as did the seating plan in Figure 37 and the new, rather grand parsonage built adjacent to the church in 1830 (Winterbottom 2010: 120). However, the subsequent deteriorating condition of the simple internal furnishings and building structure of the church (MNH DD 1830, box 103) as well as changes and vacancies in seat occupation by 1845 (Figure 38) confirmed this activity was temporary. The nineteenth-century image of the east end (Figure 39) compared with that taken in 2012 (Figure 40) suggested perpetuated traditional local paradigms and reduced access to economic and material resources once large numbers of parishioners started to worship in Castletown when business there picked up again. As in Ballaugh, altar candles and an altar cross were not used in until well into the twentieth century (Figures 41a, b), suggesting that long-established, low-church ideas were practiced Island-wide.

The condition of the interior of this relatively-isolated building contrasted markedly with that of its former chapels-of-ease in Castletown, evidence of considerable variations in patronage, interpretation of rules, and access to resources within a single, small, Manx parish.

Medieval St Mary's Castletown

What has survived materially of the medieval chapel of St Mary in Castletown (Figure 42) probably does not reflect its past interactions with the local community. This now modest building has lain near Castletown's seashore, within what was later the slum district of this ancient capital, since at least the thirteenth century. Archaeologist Cubbon (1971: 20) argued for a medieval relationship with the nearby Rushen Abbey, whose own patron was the English Cistercian abbey at Furness (Moore 1900: 164). The surviving remains of a southern colonnade (Figure 43) made of stone unknown in the Island, indicated off-Island trade and that this building had once been larger, and probably grander. When Rushen Abbey was dissolved in 1541, related paperwork noted a salary paid to the chaplain '[…] celebrating below Castle Rushen […]' (ibid: 20), the seat of secular Insular governance which loomed only a minute's or so walk away. Although some structural hints of this building's ecclesiastical past have survived, as reflected in Cubbon's 1971 floor plan (Figure 44), few material signs have survived within (Figure 45). However, evidence of high status marriages (MNH PR Kirk Malew Register 1675, 1678) and burials (ibid. 1687, 1691) within this building reflected contemporary perceptions of the centrality of this town to civil governance. The Bishop, his archdeacon, and vicars general met with the Lord of Man's agents at Tynwald sessions in the adjacent castle. Ecclesiastical court sessions, such as those adjourned in 1646 and 1665, took place within this chapel (MNH EPR). Such events, the likelihood that it had contained a school since at least 1570 (Cubbon 1971: 21), and evidence of communal involvement in the maintenance of its nave (ibid: 21, MNH BHC 1601-1610) all probably reflected this building's early-modern centrality to social practices in Castletown, despite its chapel-of-ease status. However, by 1701 this religious *locale* had been transferred into a new building, largely by the agency of the newly appointed bishop, Thomas Wilson, supported by his patron, the 9th Earl of Derby. The medieval building then became a schoolhouse, particularly for the preparation of young men for priesthood within the Manx Church. More recently, it was converted into a museum.

1701 St Mary's Castletown

On 11 April 1701 a new chapel-of-ease to Kirk Malew was built in Castletown adjacent to, and to the west of, the medieval chapel it replaced. It was consecrated by Bishop Wilson in the presence of the Lord of Man, 'all his officers' and the Manx clergy (MNH DD, Castletown, box 98), which suggested shared perceptions of its high status. However, its visibility on the south side of the town square cannot have competed structurally with the adjacent Castle Rushen in size, grandeur, or quality of build. Interpretations of probable floor and seating arrangements (Figures 46, 47) also evidenced its small size. However, contemporary perceptions were perhaps illustrated best by its close association with the castle. Maintenance of chancel and nave, as well as castle, to a high standard under the patronage of successive Lords of Man was recorded together in the secular Castle Rushen Papers (MNH CRP 1704-1801), transcribed by Stott in 2009, within which this building was referred to as 'my Lord's Chappell'. These accounts implied widely-accepted perceptions of castle and chapel as parts of the same household. Considerable resources were expended on maintenance of the chancel and nave, and on the textiles in use (Stott 2009), as well as in the provision of fine plate (Figure 48) and a marble altar table (Figures 49-56). The chapel enjoyed its prestige vicariously from shared perceptions of successive Lords' authority within secular and religious Insular governance, further evidenced in the almost complete absence of official ecclesiastical paperwork about this chapel.

Soon after 1765, it quickly fell into disrepair (MNH EPR 1770), confirming it had enjoyed its high standing entirely because of the active upkeep funded by the various Lords of Man involved since 1704, and reflecting George III's inactivity on transfer of the Lordship of Man to the Crown. The installation of Royal Arms (Figure 57) for the first time soon after this date probably expressed more general local concerns about the imposed changes and the King's apparent indifference to his newly acquired chapel. Many English entrepreneurs based in Castletown left the Island as its economy crashed. It seemed the remaining congregation, who had been accustomed to the key activities of successive Earls' and Dukes' agents, remained inactive. Consequently, this building was demolished in the 1820s when a new chapel-of-ease was built on the same, albeit extended, site.

1826 St Mary's Castletown

A new, and larger, chapel was erected in 1826 (Figure 58), financed from the sale of its many pews to members of the business community which emerged after the recovery of the town following the 1765 Revestment. This largely-incomer activity contrasted markedly with the earlier inactivity of the more-established Castletown residents who had allowed the old chapel to disintegrate. Building and upkeep was also supported financially by the Manx government which acted as patron on behalf of the Crown. The numbers of pews sold that represented the commercial success of its nineteenth-century congregation was not, however, reflected in the fine communion plate used within this building (Figures 59a, b), which was the gift of a single, respected member of the Manx community. The named seats in Figure 60 revealed the increased congregation that included a large proportion of incomers involved in purchasing prestigious seating positions with which to publicly exhibit their social capital. The plain windows, and lack of inscribed furnishings, revealed most did not reside in Castletown long enough to record memorable events inside their place of worship.

The liturgical arrangements remained Georgian in style up to this building's promotion to parish church status in 1920 (Figures 61-63). This event was marked materially by moving the cut-down triple-decker pulpit into the south side of the chancel and building some choir stalls between it and the congregational pews (Figure 64). Although the altar (Figure 65) was no longer hidden by the pulpit the original seating arrangements (Figure 66) without central aisle were never changed (Figure 67). The largely unaltered internal fittings reflected the twentieth-century community's lack of access to economic resources and its collective preference, based on cultural memories, for traditional arrangements, which continued in use until this church was closed for services in the second half of the twentieth century.

Despite this building's proximity to Castle Rushen, it has remained a local landmark on the southern edge of the town square, even after part of the tower collapsed (Figure 68). Its demise as an Anglican *locale* came about because it had been so poorly built that the reduced number of parishioners left once Insular commercial and governmental affairs were transferred to Douglas around 1869 (Gawne 2006: 4 of 9) could not afford the renovations necessary to maintain its use as a church. After protracted deliberations in Tynwald because of uncertainty about

ownership and accountability for maintenance, this building was eventually sold for commercial use.

St Mark's

In 1772 a new chapel-of-ease was built in the rural village of St Mark's (Figure 69). At a time before any other public buildings existed within this hamlet, it must have been central to village, and devotional, life. Although ostensibly at the petition of the remote community previously required to attend services at Kirk Malew (MNH PR, mixed register 1772/3), attendance may have been increased because building schemes at the somewhat distant parish church necessitated the removal of a number of pews so that a north transept could be erected there. The involvement of local farmers in the build, and their constrained access to resources, was evident in the poor construction of St Mark's Chapel from local materials. Although it afforded easier access to services than previously, the floor was earthen (Clarke 1864: 17 *et seq*.). This lack of resources was echoed in the ruinous state of chapel and parsonage when John Clarke was appointed chaplain there in 1827 (ibid. 1863: 28).

The apparently shared puritan culture reflected in this single-roomed interior (Figures 70, 71), within which chancel and nave have never been distinguished structurally, was reiterated by this congregation's very late accession of altar candlesticks (Figure 72) and cross in 1987 (Figure 73), and in the continued placement of pulpit within chancel (Figure 74). Continued use of the limited silver plate presented to the chapel in 1772 (Figure 75) and representing prestigious eighteenth-century donors also suggested this congregation had never grown economically, or in numbers. Seating plans from 1773 (Figure 76) and 1840 (Figure 77), which showed changed availability from totally designated to limited free seating before the Cambridge Camden Society was formed, suggested an actively-caring community, albeit within continued public displays of social place. St Mark's Chapel (Figure 78) continues to be visible from miles around because the surrounding landscape has remained rural.

The generally poorly-constructed and simply-furnished buildings in the whole of this parish, even in Castletown, seemed to reflect poor local access to resources and a shared non-extreme puritan paradigm. Cyclical structural and

internal decline of each building revealed serial communal inactivity whenever moderate ecclesiastical authority prevailed, or when patronage or entrepreneurially-generated support was absent, or withdrawn.

Once the Manx buildings to be studied were chosen, the issue of churches from another geographical context was broached. This raised a number of challenges including the need to identify at least another two appropriate parishes within a single off-Island region to facilitate local inter-parochial as well as wider inter-regional comparisons to be made. It was also necessary to consider how such surviving material culture and related documentary information would be accessed, and to select populations with similar experiences and/or paradigms to those of past Manx communities.

After assessment of the list of potential contenders (Table 4), it seemed Welsh communities had much in common with the indigenous Manx in that both regions were British, both had vernacular language traditions unrelated to English and both had challenged Parliamentary rules successfully in the past, as shown in Chapter III. The results of a survey of medieval Montgomeryshire churches undertaken by Silvester and Frost in 1999 were identified. The contents of some of the buildings surveyed had also been recorded by NADFAS volunteers. A search was made for long archaeological sequences within single parishes where medieval buildings continued in use and/or where early modern parishes were split at a later date, and new parishes formed. Clearly-documented accounts produced by Silvester and Frost and by NADFAS volunteers relating to four medieval parishes near Welshpool in mid-Wales, all of which had been divided up in the nineteenth century, and where standing buildings were relatively accessible for field visits, were identified. CPAT findings in 2007 were relevant and surely reliable as sources because of the official nature of those surveys and the professional status of the archaeologists who compiled them. Conversely the NADFAS records, which also contained archaeological data, were compiled by enthusiastic, experienced amateurs, albeit directed according to strict written guidelines formulated without academic archaeological input. Monitoring from central headquarters in London was by other volunteers also untrained in archaeology. However, it seemed the sources identified could be used in tandem when the contents of particular buildings had been recorded, the professionally prepared reports being utilized in assessing the information collected in the NADFAS records, in turn facilitating evaluation of NADFAS

Table 4:

Off-Island contenders as contexts

Islands:

- Anglesey, not dissimilar in size to the Isle of Man and lying within the Irish Sea Basin
- The Isle of Man once had considerable trading links with the West Indies
- The western Scottish island of Islay was once governed ecclesiastically from Trondheim in Norway within the same Diocese as Man
- Pitcairn, where the mutineers from HMS Bounty settled has been linked with the Isle of Man because the captain, one of the midshipmen and the leader of the mutineers all had Manx connections.

Present Crown dependencies like the Isle of Man:

- The Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey

Past Crown dependencies:

- Surviving 18th c. Anglican material culture on the east coast of Canada where the provinces were once Crown dependencies
- The Anglican Church was Established in Carolina in the United States of America from the 17th c. (Linder, 2000: vii). A number of early modern Anglican interiors have survived.
- The first Australian Anglican church was built in the 18th century in New South Wales, at a time when all the Australian states were Crown dependencies.

Easiest access for field visits: British islands and Wales

Churches the subject of secondary sources and archaeological surveys:

- Several hundreds of NADFAS inventories of the contents of British churches compiled during the last quarter of the 20th century and since 2000
- Royal Commissions of Ancient Monuments, like those of Anglesey
- CADW Historic Churches Survey about Carmarthenshire churches undertaken in 1997-2000
- CPAT survey of Montgomeryshire churches including Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain and Trelystan undertaken in 1999

Churches the subjects of academic dissertations and theses:

- Ormskirk Parish Church (Ockenden, 1996) was the parish church of the Earls of Derby who ruled in Man between 1460 and 1736 (Kniveton, 1997: 177)
- A number of churches in York had been the subjects of 21st century MA dissertations

Churches identified as having long archaeological sequences

records of nineteenth-century churches not surveyed by experts. Long and variable post-Reformation ecclesiastical archaeological sequences within four Welsh parishes were identified.

Two medieval Welsh churches in continued use, along with the two new parish churches built nearby in the nineteenth century, were chosen for investigation (Table 5), even though Trelystan had been a chapel-of-ease within an English parish until the mid-nineteenth century. Choices were strongly influenced by the availability of related records, and agreement by church officials to allow entry into locked buildings and access to documentation held by them. The following accounts acquaint readers with the four Welsh buildings, and their contents, included in this study.

Table 5:

Welsh parish churches selected

Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain medieval Parish Church (SJ225204) hereafter called **Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain** or **Llansantffraid**

Christ Church Parish Church at Bwlch-y-cibau (SJ179175) carved from Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain, consecrated in 1864, hereafter called **Bwlch-y-cibau**

All Saints, later St Mary's, Trelystan (SJ264040), medieval chapel-of-ease to Worthen, later parish church, hereafter called **Trelystan**

Holy Trinity in Leighton (SJ243060) chapel-of-ease to Trelystan consecrated in 1853, later parish church, hereafter called **Leighton**

Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain

Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (Figure 79) lies on top of a hill above a small Welsh town from where its western steeple has long been part of local devotional and

secular memories. Its multiple architectural phases indicated this building's medieval origins (Silvester and Frost 1999: 1). Terriers associated with the adjacent parsonage and palatial outbuildings ($L^{L}CG$ PR 1729-1751) evidenced early-modern access to considerable resources, probably related to its continued rectory status.

This parish church, extended to the west in the seventeenth century (Jones 1871: 99) and to the north in 1727 (Silvester and Frost 1999: 2) to accommodate increasing congregations, once contained doored pews arranged either side of a central aisle that led to the small communion table at the east end of the chancel (Figure 80). The clear definition of the chancel in nave roof and wall structure (Figure 81) also recorded use, by the end of the nineteenth century, of altar candles. The present interior with Victorian screen and free seating (Figure 82) revealed clarification of the spatial relationship between chancel and nave at floor level from 1892/3 (Figures 83a, b). The ornamental altar candlesticks and cross in present use (Figures 84a, b) matched the style of other ecclesiological arrangements, which the nineteenth-century architect-designed seating plan (Figure 85) indicated were carefully planned, suggesting they were embraced rather than imposed, although the retention and condition of the carvings in Figure 86 reiterated this community's pride in older forms and skills. The cut-down pulpit (Figure 87) was positioned in the same place as it predecessor (Jones 1871: 98), that arrangement apparently having worked well in the past. The retained, old tester probably reflected the large size of the nave and the distance some parishioners had to sit from the pulpit. The preservation and care of many old items indicated an active community that was never challenged to find the resources necessary to maintain this building and its contents. Early and modern glass sourced from England represented long relationships with English traders and artisans.

The age and quality of the furnishings and glass within Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain, their continued condition, and the building's size implied continued use by a thriving, actively-involved, urban community.

Bwlch-y-cibau

A Nonconformist chapel was built in Bwlch-y-cibau before 1857 (Figure 88), a small, isolated village in mid-Wales. This perceived threat to Anglicanism that encouraged local residents to worship there rather than making the lengthy journey

to the parish church in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain every Sunday, along with rising populations related to the Industrial Revolution, probably facilitated the formation of a new parish within the old parish boundaries, and the building of Bwlch-y-cibau Parish Church (Figure 89) in 1864. Built on a hill within a heavily wooded area, it seemed this small, low building must always have been part of resident, rather than wider, landscapes. Its inner style and arrangements (Figures 90-94) of planned, very-faithfully executed, ecclesiological ideas replicated prevalent English Anglican ideals that probably expressed local, communal, devotional practices. They also reflected contemporary transport and communications infrastructures related to the Industrial Revolution. These innovations were apparently familiar, and welcome, to this geographically, relatively-isolated, community. The quality of the build indicated active community involvement, and access to considerable resources. However, funding was not unlimited. The stained glass, altar candles and altar cross were installed a number of years later.

The pristine condition of this building in 2012 in the context of the closure of the local Nonconformist chapel (field visits) within a village without even a single shop or public house suggested perpetuated involvement of a congregation with reasonably-high economic capital.

Trelystan

Trelystan Chapel (Figure 95), a small, low, remote, medieval building adjacent to Offa's Dyke in mid-Wales, remains almost invisible within a small wood despite its distinctive black and white exterior (Figure 96). Visitation returns (SA VR 1792-1828) and churchwardens' accounts (SA PR 1802-1857) revealed this building has always been isolated. The absence of 'inhabitants of superior ranks' (SA VR 1792), was visible materially in the very short chancel. The chapel's survival probably owed much to the arrival in the 1850s of prosperous English businessman John Naylor who became churchwarden for a short time. He was the key agent in funding the limited ecclesiological renovations made in 1856 to the nave and the replacement of the east window (Figure 97), actively supported by the community who contributed labour and transport (PR Leighton vestry minutes 1856). The later donation of the pulpit (Figure 98) by Elizabeth Pugh in 1884 suggested that renovations in this chapel were opportunistic rather than planned.

The entirely free, and numerous, nave benches installed in 1856 reflected continued use by Leighton 'under disadvantage of distance and uneven ground' (SA VR 1792), as well as Trelystan, communities. The floor plan (Figure 99) indicated chancel and nave structurally undivided except for the portion of medieval screen re-installed in 1856 (Figure 100a), albeit upside down, so probably more about Naylor's enthusiasm for the neo-gothic, highly visible in his Leighton church, rather than being perceived more widely as significant devotionally. The missing sections, poorly replicated in oak (Figure 100b), suggested haste to take advantage of the transient nature of Naylor's patronage, also visible in the rustic way the chancel was defined from nave at floor level (Figure 101). The retention within the chancel of earlier-style furnishings and arrangements (Figures 102, 103) probably reflected perceptions of continued clerical responsibility for maintenance of this space, and subsequent clerical inactivity. The modest status and low economic capital of incumbent curates must have afforded them little authority and severely limited their access to the resources necessary to make change.

No evidence of an associated parsonage was found. Curates in post journeyed from elsewhere (SA VR 1792). The modest vestry with small fireplace built around 1767 (ibid.) and the contemporary stable erected and maintained by the Leighton community (ibid.), were surely constructed because of the difficulties and distances involved in travelling to and from this remote chapel. The vestry construction was the only phase in which this single-roomed building was ever enlarged, although the proportions of the interior designated chancel and nave may have been modified periodically to reflect lack of gentry and/or increased congregations by adjusting the position of the chancel screen.

Relatively late accession of altar candles, altar cross (Figure 104) and silver plate (Figure 105) reiterated Naylor's withdrawal of financial support soon after 1856 and the continued low economic capital of this community, although once they had had access to the resource of considerable artisanship (Figure 106). The presence of the Decalogue in English (Figure 107) probably reflected this chapel's location near the English border and affiliation with its English mother church at Worthen in Shropshire until its nineteenth-century elevation to parish church status.

Despite this relationship, in 1920 the congregation actively voted to be part of the Church in Wales, evidence of collective Welsh cultural memories, even though governance continued from Hereford. The shabby and neglected condition of

the 2012 interior still in use told of a relatively-static, isolated congregation with continued limited access to economic resources.

Leighton

Wealthy English businessman John Naylor moved to mid-Wales in the nineteenth-century, where he soon proceeded to build a large estate at Leighton near Welshpool. Although for a time he followed the local convention of attending the chapel-of-ease at Trelystan for services, he soon employed English architect W.H. Gee to design him a fine church and parsonage nearer to his new home designed by Pugin, evidence of his considerable socio-economic capital. The church (Figure 108), with its tall spire that has remained a widely visible landmark from its hilltop site, continues to speak of Naylor patronage within the local township and beyond. A floor plan revealed Naylor's active influence in the inclusion of a family mausoleum (Figure 109) and the lack of a central aisle. The internal arrangements (Figure 110), although overtly ecclesiological in style, were modified and exaggerated to reflect Naylor wealth, revealing acceptance by Anglican officials of these variations from the norm. The large windows filled with high quality glass and the floors from east to west gables covered in encaustic Minton tiles (Figures 111a, b) blurred the boundary between chancel and nave more clearly visible in the structure of this building. The decorative altar cross reflected the ornamental style of other furnishings (Figure 112). Naylor's influence was further reflected in the congregational pews and the choir stalls which faced the Naylor family pew, from where attendance of their workforce could be monitored and to whom the choir, by necessity, focused their contributions to services. Present-day arrangements and the still immaculate condition of this single-phase building gave an impression of continued, active Naylor family involvement, and congregational compliance.

Although only Edwards (1996: 56) and Paul (2005) advocated studying chapels-of-ease, those at Trelystan, Castletown and St Mark's were included because four of those buildings have survived, as has considerable related official early-modern and later documentation. The amount of records discovered about the use of material culture within these Anglican chapels was unexpected, although this may have accumulated because of their rather unusual natures. Those at Castletown were

under the patronage of the Lords of Man whose preserved secular accounts detailed much about the chapels' contents in the absence of related early ecclesiastical documentation. Transport infrastructures were once so poor between St Mark's and Kirk Malew that its chaplains practised fairly independently. The works of two who were enthusiastic, prolific writers have survived. Trelystan Chapel-of-ease lay within Wales although its parish church was in England. Infrequent visitations and subsequent very short reports reflected this building's remoteness. But the churchwardens were more active than more senior officials, and kept very detailed, informative accounts for many years. No reason was discovered to exclude the contents of these buildings from this project. It seemed most studies have been about parish churches just because sources relating to lower status buildings were not perceived as being so plentiful.

The considerable English influence on both the Trelystan chapel that lay near the English border, and the Castletown chapels that enjoyed the patronage of the English Earls of Derby, provided another link. Indeed the literature implied that English material culture and practices formed contexts for all the Manx and Welsh interiors selected because the overt rules relating to the use of material within Anglican churches originated in England. The discovery of evidence of more regionally specific conventions and access to resources was also anticipated.

Methodology

It quickly became apparent that despite the relatively small number of church and chapel interiors being considered the amount and diversity of material culture identified within them were too eclectic and numerous to analyse rigorously for meaning in their entirety within the imposed time and length restrictions. After consideration it was resolved to focus specifically on the use of various spaces within each building and the liturgically significant material culture and arrangements found to have been present within each *locale* (Table 6).

The relevance of the structuration approach evaluated during the review of the literature identified the necessity of specifying characteristics related to the production and use of material culture. These expressed structuration concepts about prevalent rules and access to resources over the *longue durée* by individuals and groups of various social standing, which could be applied to Anglican liturgies and

Table 6:

Sacred and social spaces with contents

Sacred spaces:

- sanctuaries and chancels

Social spaces:

- naves

Furnishings:

- altars and tables
- altar/table furnishings
- rails and screens
- the Decalogue
- Royal Arms
- clerical attire
- pulpits, sounding boards
- hour glasses
- roofs, windows and floors
- nave seating arrangements

collected empirically, and from sources. It seemed reasonable to take phenomenological perceptions into account when selecting characteristics of material culture, if only because the arrangements seen inside churches and chapels suggested that sensory perceptions had long influenced their design. Features related to touch, taste and smell seemed less relevant than those linked with sight and hearing. Data collection was therefore limited to consideration of planned liturgical arrangements and some material contexts in how they may have been viewed by artisans, clergymen and members of successive congregations as well as how such arrangements may have affected what was heard. The arrangements provided evidence about active relationships between individuals, between individuals and groups, and between material culture and individuals and/or groups. Appropriate characteristics of artefacts related to sight were identified, such as directions faced and position. Structuration concepts about opposites, such as east/west and raised/level, were applied. The characteristics of location and distances between furnishings affected how related proceedings were heard and interpreted, and how those present at services interacted with each other and with particular furnishings.

Dates, colour, size, form, condition and donor also seemed likely to reflect, or to have impacted upon, personal or shared perceptions.

As noted earlier, evidence of change was critical in discovering material activity. Flather (2007: 2-3) considered evidence of changes made by human agents to discover meanings for social spaces within which people interacted with materials at different times and in different social places. So data collection focused on the acquisition of new furnishings, variations in forms, the condition of materials, and alterations in the positions where they were used. These suggested changed activities, such as modified rules or human or human/material relationships. All reflected implementation of structuration ideas. Deliberate changes in form or deterioration of items also raised issues about amended rules, changed perceptions, expectations, priorities and/or altered access to resources. Alterations often indicated demographic changes, new access to technical advances or of changed social relationships and/or conventions. Recognition of material change particularly facilitated the production of artefact biographies which stressed the value of changes in the contexts of time, place and ownership when considering possible meanings for materials (Gillings and Pollard 1999: 179-193). The identity of donors reflected social relationships and wealth distribution.

Although Gibson (2002: 4.1.1g) reconciled 'apparent discrepancies' between dates discovered in primary and secondary sources, this project focused on changes in the use of material culture within a slowly evolving institution. The material culture often showed evidence of long, shared memories and *habitus*, for instance in wear**.** This eliminated the need to check if dates noted reflected the 1752 switch from the Julian to the Georgian calendar, identification of the short period lost being perceived as insignificant in adding to consideration of the *longue durée*. Rather, data collection concentrated on structuration ideas about access to the resources of materials, funding, and technical advances related to the construction, acquisition or modification of materials or arrangements that so often signified changed human behaviour.

Characteristics including position, numbers in use, size, colour, form, condition, inscriptions, evidence of changes made, and the sources of information recorded, all revealed something about prevalent rules, resources available, human intensions and activity, and of human/material interactions. Positions and inscriptions told about the *habitus* of participants, those commemorated, and donors,

as well as about their interrelationships. Size indicated prevalent hierarchical perceptions of importance allocated to certain activities or something about more personal or shared perceptions about the social significance of donors or those commemorated. Characteristics of workmanship sometimes indicated geographical and social variations in artisanship as well as access to materials and apprenticeships. Styles, forms and colours also reflected official rules, fashions, and access to resources related to time and to social and geographical place. Characteristics of scripts in commemorative inscriptions indicated relationships between donors and those remembered, but also something about the social status of the departed, literacy of the donor and/or the mason, and about contemporary language usage. Comparisons of liturgical spaces and their arrangements identified differences and similarities between communities and how rigidly official rules were imposed. Some intentions were never fulfilled. Shared characteristics implied inflexible central governance, dissimilar ones strong, collective, more local paradigms and/or hierarchical acceptance. And, as Lafferty (2007: 30) reminded us, absences noted were just as likely to be significant.

Throughout the thesis, footnotes were not used because it was considered that any significant information would be more easily accessible if situated within texts. Illustrations of pertinent materials indicating applicable characteristics have been arranged as they arose within the text. Relevant schematic representations of buildings and interiors composed by the author were orientated conventionally although the original alignment of floor plans accessed from other sources was retained. Un-scaled drawings and floor and seating plans were considered sufficient because during analyses of data, relationships like large/small, tall/short, many/few, east/west and others were given precedence over detailed measurements. True north was indicated within each image. In texts, east indicated the position of the chancel throughout, whether actual, slightly misaligned or notional, shared perceptions of that position and the relative positions between internal spaces, furnishings and other material culture being perceived as more relevant than each building's actual orientation in the landscape.

Gibson (ibid: 4.1.1f) also emphasized the importance of ensuring consistency when defining materials and data. Changes in use of language over time occasionally raised potential problems when trying to make comparisons. For example the terms table, altar, and altar-table variously expressed material form

and/or devotional paradigms that were sometimes confusing. Clarification, in the glossary in Appendix I, of terminology used, counteracted the inevitable inconsistencies that occurred when referring to documentation produced in the past and explained other terms that might be unfamiliar to readers. Another concern was how to express the persistent pattern noted within rural Manx churches and chapels-of-ease of apparent shared preferences for plain interior arrangements that contrasted with the style of most of the Welsh Anglican contents. Although possibly unconsciously related to limited access to resources, the trend seemed relevant. After consideration 'Puritan' with an upper-case P was used to reflect extremist challenges to the established Church. Although the use of the term low-church expressed a Victorian value, and given that this thesis covered about three-hundred years, this and the terms 'puritan' with a lower-case p and 'ascetic' were used to describe non-extreme material preferences throughout the period researched. Other inconsistencies like the names of buildings, refurbishment styles and clear distinction between patrons and donors were clarified in the glossary and in Tables 3 and 5, within which grid-references for each building studied were included to facilitate site identification on Ordnance Survey maps.

Data were collected within the database in Appendix II. The churches and chapels chosen for investigation were arranged in alphabetical order followed by relevant details of their structure and contents. Compilation provided comparable information about how the manufacture and use of liturgically relevant post-Reformation church furnishings developed over long time periods within two distinct geographical regions. The qualitative approach taken allowed for the display of a limited number of characteristics about a large amount of material culture in a condensed format made accessible to readers on a compact disc.

The characteristics of material culture collected were limited (Table 7) in order to ensure the database was not so large as to make data difficult to access, particularly because of the large number of successive liturgical items identified as having been in use over the time period being investigated, and the need for detailed and stringent analysis of data within the time and size constraints imposed on this project. Academic conventions were followed with regard to terminology and metric measurements (Menuge et al. 2006) to ensure compatibility of findings with those in other contemporary studies. Measurements taken from sources compiled by others sometimes involved the conversion of imperial into metric values. Dimensions over

one metre were rounded up or down to two decimal points because exact measurements were not considered as important as comparisons such as small/large or long/short as evidence of structuration ideas about personal perceptions and/or resources available.

Table 7:

Material culture: characteristics collected

- dated manufacture or acquisition
- numbers
- dated position and changes
- materials used
- colour
- dated condition
- details of inscriptions
- donor / funding
- dimensions
- sources

Table 8:

Data collection from primary and secondary sources:

Personal field visits

Unpublished sources:	Published sources:
Church leaflets	Academic journal articles
Personal letters, journals, and accounts	Archaeological surveys
Official secular and ecclesiastical records	Newspapers
Floor and seating plans	Books
Photographs	Websites
Drawings and paintings	
Academic theses	
NADFAS Records	

Table 9:

Parochial visitations: frequency

Church/chapel	**1634-1734**	**1735-1834**	**1835-1925**
medieval St Mary's	0	n/a	n/a
old Ballaugh	3	11	at least 3
Kirk Malew	3	11	at least 3
Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain	unknown	5	unknown
Trelystan	unknown	at least 2	unknown
1701 St Mary's	0	2	n/a
St Mark's	n/a	5	at least 3
1826 St Mary's	n/a	2	at least 3
new Ballaugh	n/a	1	at least 3
Leighton	n/a	n/a	unknown
Bwlch-y-cibau	n/a	n/a	unknown

Data were collected from a number of sources (Table 8). The records associated with periodic parochial visitations that noted, for instance, the condition of naves, facilitated data collection (Tables 9, 10). Manx archives were visited often. Most archives holding documentation related to the Welsh churches were visited only once for logistical reasons because of their locations over large geographical areas in Wales and England. Smaller amounts of relevant information were retrieved electronically**.**

Decorative detail and indistinct inscriptions were photographed. The interior furnishings and arrangements of Manx ecclesiastical interiors were readily accessible for repeated field visits by the researcher who lives in the Island. Trips to the Welsh churches had to be planned more carefully and they were all visited twice. All data were collected by the researcher, so although liable to personal interpretation there was continuity in methodology and any perceptions identified have been those of a single individual. Information from secondary sources, used only when relevant primary sources could not be accessed, was carefully assessed for likely accuracy and subjectivity. For instance, information found within Manx directories was considered to be sound because their availability implied accurately delivered

Table 10:

Manx naves: condition

Date	Ballaugh	Kirk Malew	Castletown
1634 (MNH VR)		a pulpit, 'noe seate for the minister'	-
1665 (MNH VR)		floor unpaved, no pulpit cushion	-
1698 (MNH EPR)		most pews 'want repairing'	
1701	simple building (Oliver 1868)	simple building (Oliver 1868)	new building (MNH DD box 98)
1704-1765	-	-	regular maintenance (Stott 2009)
1743 (MNH VR)	roof needs mending	-	-
1748 (MNH VR)	roof recently repaired, floor paved, seats and pulpit in 'good order'	-	-
1758 (MNH VR)	roof needs rendering, floor uneven, seats in poor condition & in shortage supply	roof leaking uneven floor scattered with human bones	-
1766 (MNH VR)	roof and seats in good order	roof to be repaired, seats in good order	-
1770 (MNH EPR)	roof leaking badly	-	-
1781 (MNH VR 1782)	-	new north transept chancel demolished	-
1786/7 (MNH VR)	only floor in poor condition	roof and seats in good condition	whole building badly deteriorated (MNH *c.* 1998)
1797/8	-	-	'neat & elegant' [*sic*] red satin pulpit cloth (Feltham)
1826	-	-	new, larger building
1830 (MNH DD box 103)	-	pews 'broken and decayed'	-
1835 (MNH VR)	new building (1832)	-	-
1890s	ecclesiological renovations	ecclesiological renovations	no renovations

services. Errors noted in early editions were corrected and revised in regular updates. However, precedence was always given to material over documentary findings. Although electronic indexes facilitated searches for, and acquisition of, appropriate information, personal visits to records offices and libraries were invaluable in unearthing sources not found on-line. Neither were those contacted by telephone or e-mail always able to confirm what was held within churches or archives. When accessing recently-archived sources, a number of ethical issues such as the possibility of breaches of confidentiality were considered, and dealt with.

However keenly one looked for the presence of women, their material visibility was always within the constraints of liturgical arrangements led theologically by men. This study seldom considered females because of their under-representation in the material and documentation sourced. This corresponded with the reality of the period studied and limited what this study could discover about gender relationships. Even regional options that challenged central edicts had to meet diocesan and parochial requirements for uniformity and all the clergy and official secular authorities were male during the period studied. However, when occasionally women or girls were represented, this was noted and discussed as were gender relationships between males.

Many others with little control over their lives were not likely to have been able to express themselves materially either although they may have done so spontaneously in drawings, graffiti or other marks. Any such expressions identified seem likely to have been heartfelt and to have represented personal perceptions. Sometimes even such signs are absent. Nonetheless material and related documentation did tell something about people who had limited access to resources to express themselves materially. Disadvantaged groups were discernible in the material culture if only, sometimes, by their absence, and the researcher has tried to find meanings about those excluded from more prestigious material and arrangements. Because everyone was once required to attend church services position, size, distance and other comparative factors told almost as much about the disadvantaged masses as about those who were more overtly represented materially or within texts. What might have been seen or experienced by such individuals and/or groups, for instance how far or near they were to the focus of liturgies, or whether related furnishings were perceived of as high or low from where they sat or stood, provided evidence about what such viewers may have felt. Such

arrangements may have been imposed, but congregations still interacted with them. The likelihood of furnishings being hidden or partially hidden behind something or clearly visible from designated seating was also considered.

The Bibliography was compiled according to the author-date system recommended by MHRA (2008: 65-68) arranged alphabetically within two sections, the first listing non-published sources and the second published sources. Items within sub-sections were arranged chronologically to facilitate access.

A deductive hermeneutic analytical approach was taken to critical analysis of the data collected. Units analysed for evidence of activity, trends and patterns of function over time and in various personal and geographical places, and to expose exceptions for evidence for meaning, as recommended by Gilchrist (1997: 7) were those characteristics collected about the material culture within the parameters of historical liturgical arrangements and structuration theory from, and about, the eleven churches studied. Evidence of local trends may have reflected that most individual's experiences of churches during the period studied was overwhelmingly of a single building with no, or few, experiences of what happed in others. The data collected allowed for consideration of the possibility that what happened in one community may have had an effect on what happened elsewhere.

Actions implied by data collected may have been related to people's perceptions of, and reactions to, the rules. Giddens wrote that this was sometimes unconscious, although sometimes actors may have been motivated to conform (1979b: 234). Bourdieu thought habitus was a strong force in conditioning individuals to fit in with social conventions, often without explicit explanation but with practical motivation. One remained aware of the possibility that, although patterns influenced practice, individual practice might also have been the inspiration for a new trend. The difficulty lay in trying to discover how much action was unconscious, how much reasoned. This study sought to find out if and how central governance maintained the unity visible materially. Furnishings and arrangements were analysed individually as well as within various contexts identified, and the possibility of multiple meanings always considered. Similarities and differences between arrangements, materials and other factors like perceptions of personal interpretations discerned were compared. The aim was to discover something about those involved by working out how the material culture inside churches had been replicated, preserved or altered by parishioners and clergymen as evidence of social

relationships and communal characteristics as recommended by Giles (2000: 1). Consideration of unofficial manuscripts like letters and diaries sometimes provided unexpected contextual evidence related to *habitus* to explain why individuals complied with, or challenged, long held conventions.

Bourdieu's ideas about economic, cultural and social capital were utilized to consider evidence about how individuals and groups interacted within those contexts in the past and how changed values and *habitus*' over time affected such relationships. Characteristics of material considered sometimes indicated social relationships between various individuals or groups, or between them and ecclesiastical officials, as well as of changes made. Bourdieu's contribution of ideas like *habitus*, fields and *locales* to structuration theory facilitated the discovery of possible relationships within the applicable rules and available resources at any time and place just because *habitus* was often apparent in characteristics of material culture, for instance in the way furnishings were arranged, and so used, during particular time periods.

Conclusions reached about social and human/artefact interactivity from particular characteristics of chosen material arrangements were revealed throughout the thesis at the end of each chapter. Deductions made were then compared with each other in a concluding chapter that discussed what the deductions reached suggested about regionally specific, or more widely shared, paradigms and practices within the contexts of social relationships, artefact activity, Anglican liturgical arrangements, historical archaeology, structuration theory and biographical accounts. The large number of contexts considered added to the depth and layering of analyses. Every effort was made to consider and explain all possible variations fully. Any potential biases related to personal interpretation of variables were stated, as expected within the post-processual approach taken. Although findings could not but be within the contexts of the perceptions of, and choices made, by the researcher, once particular churches were selected every care was taken to analyse data identified objectively and critically. It was anticipated that the units analysed and characteristics of Anglican material culture identified as being appropriate to the structuration approach taken would reveal a great deal about prevalent rules and resources available to individuals and groups at different times in different social and geographical places. The post-processual approach taken accepted the indefiniteness of conclusions arrived at because inevitably they would be reached within the

contexts of the researcher's knowledge, paradigms and perceptions, however carefully care was taken to maintain consistency and avoid subjectivity.

Conclusions

In conclusion, consideration of the material culture inside churches for evidence of material activity and meaning where traditional excavation archaeology was not appropriate necessitated the use of more imaginative archaeological methods. The literature review and methodology identified practical alternatives. Interpretation of documentary as well as material evidence about events like those related to the 1765 Revestment of Man which, although influential locally was insignificant internationally, as well as the biographies included, made the post-processual approach chosen appropriate.

Evidence of the inevitable tensions that must have existed when rules were challenged by those who aspired to make changes was sometimes visible in ecclesiastical material culture and/or related documentation. The occasional use of biographies addressed this issue by allowing for sequential events discovered to be analogized with archaeological stratigraphy. Field visits to churches in continued use were appropriate because reasons for earlier practices could only be determined by considering relationships between past and present contexts. Awareness of phenomenological concepts and attempts to empathize with the experiences of previous generations were necessarily limited by contexts of *longue durée*, geography, and culture. Although one could not ever know everything about what it was really like to live in the past, some shared experiences in the contexts of active processes such as gender, exposure to Anglican conventions and parenthood provided some insight into the personal experiences of past individuals expressed in materials and the way they were arranged inside Anglican churches. Implementation of structuration ideas allowed for the material visibility of the efforts required when alterations were made. Such changes acted as key contexts for evidence of continued practice in other ecclesiastical venues. Modifications often reflected demographic, technical, economic, cultural, and other developments. Findings were analysed for evidence of meanings, opportunities, causes, and effects.

The compilation of this methodology was a positive learning process as it identified a few weaknesses in the original proposal. Some were addressed and

changed, some had to be accepted and the parameters of the project modified accordingly. For instance, initial aspirations to consider larger numbers of buildings were impractical if thorough detailed analyses were to be undertaken to reach meaningful outcomes within the time and length constraints imposed. The quality and integrity of the research process was given precedence over the quantity of information gathered. The number of buildings included was necessarily tiny because of the detailed nature of investigations being carried out, and the mix deliberately diverse in order to have been able to consider a number of different cultural and regional contexts, so it was accepted that findings might not represent wider practices. Neither did the size of this study lend itself to statistical studies, not least because only five Manx parishes in continued use were identified as containing parish churches dating from before the Reformation. The amount of data available for evaluation was not large enough to allow for trials to take place.

The literature clearly indicated that an interest in researching local churches would be meaningless academically unless considered within wider geographical contexts. Hence the addition of four Welsh church interiors. Previous lack of knowledge about mid-Wales led to the choice of at least one building so close to the Welsh border that it led to complications related to the storage of, and access to, documentation. However, it facilitated a deeper understanding of relationships between the Welsh Church and the English hierarchy and the porousness of the English/Welsh border that formed useful contexts when considering Manx/English relationships.

The processes involved in reviewing the literature and devising the methodology clarified the validity, focus, purpose, and scope of this project, the analytical approach taken, and some ethical issues. Aims to consider ecclesiastical furnishings for evidence about past human relationships and to add to the academic corpus were shown to be operationally viable. The structuration approach chosen was flexible enough within conventional academic research frameworks to investigate material links between behaviour and belief inside a small number of churches and chapels. Methods used were largely deductive in that structuration theory informed the methodology of data collection, analysis, and the sorts of questions asked. The long-lived but often amended properties of church interiors that led to their choice over secular interiors, sampling strategies, personal paradigms, funding, and other constraints, logistical issues, categorization, and

collection of data were all addressed by this methodology. As were clarification of the research period, the thesis format, ethical and other practical issues. Conclusions were inferred hermeneutically although with a little inductive input, in that the researcher's observations of particular aspects of use of space and material arrangements sometimes implied more widespread patterns. The common approach with contemporary scholarship has added to the wider body of knowledge in a format that facilitates further discussion and investigation.

The following chapter adds relevant historical contexts to the material culture studied.

Chapter III

Historical Contexts

‘This Iſland [...] is a member of *England*; [...] not withſtanding it hath Lawes and Cuſtomes peculiar to itſelf [...]’ (Chaloner 1656: 29)

Modern British landscapes scattered with ancient churches confirm that many Catholic churches were retained at the Reformation, their interiors modified to reflect Protestant paradigms, detectable particularly, for the purposes of this project, in three medieval buildings in Man and two in mid-Wales. A précis of Manx and Welsh history in context with that of England within the broad categories of governance, language and education, and social issues, sets the scene.

Governance

In Man the seventeen medieval parishes, all of which were rectories, were governed from Trondheim in Norway from 1154 (Moore 1900: 168). The Welsh and English Churches also came under central control from the twelfth century (Addleshaw 1973: 27, 29), but from Canterbury. After 1387 the Isle of Man became a diocese in its own right (Bray 2005a: 5), although the title ‘Sodor and Man’ which once referred to the inclusion of the western Scottish isles, was retained. With the dissolution of Rushen Abbey in 1541 patronage was transferred from Furness Abbey in Cumbria to the Lords of Man (Gumbley 2006: 9). In England parish boundaries utilized by secular authorities until the mid-nineteenth century (Pounds 2000: xiii) have continued to actively structure Manx civil and secular administration, noticeable in current signage and place names.

Henry VIII actively merged Welsh and English law in his 1536 Act of Union (Williams 1979: 49, 132). His position as head of the Church of England ensured strong links between Church and state in England and Wales, not least because ecclesiastical jurisdiction could not override the law (Bray 1998: lxxxv) so had to be approved by Parliament. Although Henry VIII annexed Man to the province of York in 1542 (Oliver 1862: 37) Parliamentary activity and control did not apply in the

Island except by specific mention (Gumbley 2006: 9). Conversely, generally English canon law did apply. However, because early canon law was based on English civil law, when it contradicted Manx civil law it could not apply in Man. Despite the 1534 Parliamentary Act of Supremacy that declared the King supreme head of the Church, Tynwald and the Insular ecclesiastical courts tended to recognize the Lords of Man as their ultimate authority. The Lords' appointed the Insular governors and the bishops who were active in Tynwald, and Manx offenders were fined by the ecclesiastical courts towards the maintenance of the Lord of Man's chapel-of-ease in Castletown (MNH EPR 1637). In 1698 a fine related to a presentation about the condition of the seating in Kirk Malew was taken by the Lord of Man, not by the Church (ibid.).

The three Ecclesiastical Courts that regulated affairs in Man were more powerful than their English equivalents, not least in their authority to imprison offenders in 'ye Bop's Prison at Peil [Peel] Castle (Denton 1681: 435-444) until 1780 (Craine 1955: 148). Although it seemed more likely that Denton was told this than that he recorded a personal experience, his account gained credence from being contemporary with the system described. In1704 Tynwald successfully challenged the 1533 Parliamentary Act that forbade the holdings of convocations without the Monarch's permission (Bray 2005a: 8). The Lord of Man's continued appointment of Insular bishops created friction because of post-holders' extraordinary powers to appoint the Vicars General, and, after 1757, to approve applications for special marriage licences (Mills 1821: 246) that flew in the face of the 1533 Parliamentary Act that specifically transferred these papal powers to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and precluded even the Archbishop of York from intervening during an episcopal interregnum in Man in 1979 (MNH DD, box 9). The ecclesiastical courts' prolonged activities added to clerical/secular tensions over issues that were dealt with earlier by secular authorities in England and Wales. Insular bishops, archdeacons, and vicars general formed part of the Lord's Council and from 1876, the Legislative Council. Since 1919 only the bishop has held an *ex officio* vote in the Manx Legislature (Gumbley 2006: 9). The post retained a seat in the House of Lords too but not the right to vote permitted to senior English and Welsh bishops (Yates et al. forthcoming: 4). Such variations have long distinguished Man from England and Wales politically and religiously.

The Island's capital, Castletown, was built around the medieval Castle Rushen where their households and chapels enjoyed successive Lords' patronage although this facility did not always imply their personal occupation. Castletown was the centre of civil governance where the unelected Insular government Tynwald met (Feltham 1798: 139). Critically, except for members of the Lord's household, his chaplain, the religious hierarchy, some merchants, English officials like the governors, and the pupils in the Castletown school which trained boys for the Manx Church, many inhabitants of Man continued to converse in the Manx language, as evidenced in visitation returns. Manx was unwritten until the eighteenth century. Successive generations of the families with English names mentioned as the Lord's employees between 1704 and 1765 (Stott 2009), who probably represented marriages between earlier generations of English soldiers posted to the garrison in Castletown and Manx girls surely spoke some English which the large number of English names in the CRP suggested may have given them an advantage when it came to perceptions by the Lord's agents of suitability for employment.

The survival of an early Derby family crest of the eagle's claw in Kirk Malew, albeit very small and relegated to an inconspicuous corner at the west end of the nave, represented the Lords of Man just as the Royal Arms which decorated many English and Welsh church interiors from soon after Henry VIII's accession (Addleshaw and Etchells 1948: 35) represented the Crown. Royal Arms did not appear in Manx parish churches until after the 1765 Revestment when the Island was sold to England, and then only within those that enjoyed Crown patronage, like Ballaugh and Santon near Castletown (Figure 113). The exceptional installation of Royal Arms in the Castletown chapel-of-ease that echoed perceptions of its precedence over Kirk Malew its parish church related to the patronage of the Lord of Man, and its absence in Kirk Malew, reflected tensions between the two congregations involved.

The Isle of Man lost fourteen of its seventeen rectories after 1540. Kirk Malew had been a vicarage-of-thirds, Rushen Abbey as rector taking two-thirds of the tithe, the vicar keeping the remaining third. At the Reformation all Insular land and tithes were retained by the Crown and transferred to the Lord of Man in 1609 by James I (Moore 1900: 351), so from then the Kirk Malew incumbent's stipend depended on the Lord's discretion. Successive Lords owned the whole Island until 1911, visible in rent rolls. After 1949 all Crown properties came under Manx

ownership and the Malew stipend was paid by Tynwald. Ballaugh retained its rectory status after the Reformation, the Bishop retaining one-third, the incumbent two-thirds of the tithes, the possession of which, however, carried with it liability for repairs to the chancel (MNH DD, Ballaugh 1955). In contrast England and Wales lost only about a third of their rectories although Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain, and Worthen within which parish Trelystan Chapel lay, remained rectories.

Low Welsh clerical stipends related to impropriated tithes collected by lay landholders whose owners only passed a tiny proportion on to incumbents encouraged non-residence, (White 1997: 242) and pluralism was abolished. Alternatively, no evidence of pluralism by parish priests in Man was discovered, although apparently many of the bishops appointed only visited the Island infrequently. As a result, but over fifty years later than similar legislation enacted in Wales, a 1696 Act of Tynwald forbade plurality in the Island too (Mills 1821: 117).

A short counter-Reformation between 1625 and 1640 led in England by Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Laud tried to re-impose what were perceived by some as Catholic ideas back into English churches (Parry 2006: 24). (Platten 2010: 17) thought the main difference between the Manx and English Churches during the subsequent Civil War and Commonwealth period was 'the degree of consistency in the Manx system [...]' where the Church remained relatively stable and free of conflict. Chapels-of-ease were built in Ramsey in 1640 and in Douglas in 1641, and periodic repairs carried out on St. Mary's chapel in Castletown (Moore 1893: 135, 146, 152). However, this author's consideration of the material culture implied that English experiences were replicated in Man. Puritan preferences for basins over fonts 'led to the demolition and removal of stone fonts' from English churches (Fincham and Tyacke 2007: 280-281). In Man Cumming noted the medieval Kirk Malew font, present inside the church in 1634 (MNH VR) being used as a rain butt in 1848 (54) and ecclesiologist Neale, its recent re-instalment inside when he visited later the same year (1848: 35). Gelling told of another old font found buried in the graveyard at nearby Kirk Rushen in the nineteenth century (1996: 212). Both survived considerable material damage (field visits). Strong possibilities of links with enthusiastic Puritanism during the Commonwealth period challenged Platten's perceptions above of 'consistency', although the need for Manx clergy to be able to speak the vernacular and the continued authority of the Manx ecclesiastical courts, albeit under civil control, safeguarded the Manx clergy when, at the same time in

England, Thomas Fairfax was removing suspect clergy from their posts (Doran and Durston 2003: 175-6). Fincham and Tyacke thought the influence of the disestablishment of the English Church after 1650 temporary (2007: 305) but the English ecclesiastical courts never regained the same power they had enjoyed before 1640. One factor was that although Charles II apparently occasionally sought to facilitate acceptance of Nonconformist and Catholic dissenters (ibid.), 'in the most severe cases' the 1662 Parliamentary Act of Uniformity excluded up to 36% of English clergy from office (Platten 2010: 17). Surely they formed a strong dissident cohort outside the established Church. The Act did not apply in Man (Gumbley 2006: 9) where, unlike elsewhere in Britain, formal Nonconformism had yet to make an appearance. The few Catholics in the Island were generally tolerated. Daniel King depicted a roofless St. Michael's medieval chapel on Fort Island near Castletown in 1651, but from the late eighteenth century Manx Catholics were encouraged to reuse it and its graveyard. It was still being used as a Catholic cemetery in 1824 (Haining, 1824: 115).

A monument in the Whitwell chancel in Norfolk to rector and non-juror Robert Monsey who remained loyal to James II reflected tensions related to the arrival of William and Mary in 1688. But English non-jury was not long-lived (Cuming 1969: 185-6). Nothing material was discovered of any non-juror activity in Man or mid-Wales. Their apparent absence in Man was supported by the vicar of Kirk Malew's note of William and Mary's accession without further comment in the register (MNH PR 1688/9).

In 1698 William, 9th Earl of Derby, appointed Thomas Wilson Bishop of Sodor and Man. He inherited a Church in considerable conflict with civil authorities about precedence. Many of the clergy continued to be appointed by governors acting on behalf of the Lords of Man, who were patrons of the Crown livings, evidence of that post's extensive powers. However, although the political and religious setup in eighteenth-century Man was specific it was not unique. The 1703 Act of Tynwald that allowed for Manx land tenure to pass from generation to generation placed Manx landholders 'on a more equal footing with those in England (Train, 1845: 219) where contemporary regional civil and religious governance was also 'very much in the hands of local elites' because of relatively weak central governance (Gregory and Chamberlain 2003: 11-12). In Man, government officials' perceptions of the Lord as head of the Manx Church were confirmed in official documentation that recorded the

considerable disagreement between those in religious and civil authority culminating with the imprisonment of Bishop Wilson in Castle Rushen in 1722 (MNH DD, box 98). He was soon released, but tensions between ecclesiastical and civil authorities rumbled.

Wilson had had no previous experience even as a parish priest (Gelling 1998: 2) so must have been particularly grateful to the Derby Lordship for his position which granted him extensive authority at the very young age of twenty-five. His promotion to Bishop was a considerable one in the context of his lack of professional experience which suggested more than an inactive relationship with the Derbys during his earlier chaplaincy at Lathom, and that Wilson cannot have been disinterested when it came to making decisions that might affect his career. His agency as bishop had a profound influence on the population of Man between 1698 and 1755, and beyond.

William and Mary tolerated Nonconformism in England and Wales and their agency in approving the 1689 Parliamentary Act of Toleration removed many religious restrictions. After 1700 the English Church permitted Nonconformists to communicate during Anglican services (Yates 2006: 11), and as late as 1795 the vicar of Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain stated that 'I know of none who totally absent themselves from public worship' ($L^{L}GC$ VR 1795). Separatist Nonconformism did not become an issue in Man until some time later.

On the purchase of the Isle of Man by the Crown in 1765 the reigning British monarch became Lord of Man. The so-called Revestment was a major Manx political event although it probably went largely unnoticed elsewhere in Britain. The rector of Kirk Bride wrote

> The Governor and Deemsters [civil judges] have suspended their functions, and forebear to act, not knowing on what ground they stand. [...] All our people of property are making their matters as fast as they can, and preparing to quit a place governed by martial law and the violence of arms

(Moore 1765: 202).

A transcription into Manx of the 1662 BCP published for the first time for clerical use in 1765 contained a prayer, along with those for the Royal Family, for the welfare of the Lord and Lady of Man: *As maroosyn yn Chiarn, yn Lady, as Fir-*

reillyn Ellan shah [And with them the Lord, the Lady, and rulers of this Isle]. The removal of this prayer in the 1777 edition (Gelling 1998: 34, 122), surely reflecting the changes in authority that occurred at the Revestment. In 1793 the 4th Duke of Atholl was instated as Governor whereby, on behalf of the Crown which retained the Lordship of Man, he was reinvested with most of the ecclesiastical patronage enjoyed by the Lordship prior to the Revestment, and an active veto upon all Insular legislation (Moore 1900: 537).

A number of nineteenth-century Acts of Parliament reduced the powers of the ecclesiastical courts in England and Wales. The 1818 Church Building Act of Parliament established the Church Building Commission and granted them funding and the authority to build Anglican churches and to sub-divide English and Welsh parishes.

In Man the Vicars General were still very active in 1830s civil court cases, albeit mainly for contempt (MNH CRGR) although by 1833 the rector of Ballaugh reported that few presentments had taken place in his parish because little notice was being taken of prescriptions (MNH VR). Attempts by Parliament to assimilate the Manx Church into the Diocese of Carlisle in 1836 were unsuccessful (Gumbley 2006: 10). Although the Governor, who was accountable to the Crown rather than to Tynwald (Gawne 2009: 176), still planned annual Insular expenditure and 'continued to be the authority from whom all executive decisions emanated' (ibid: 173), in 1848 Neale wrote that in Man the clergy still met 'in convocation; they can pass canons; they can meet emergencies; they have the liberty in short, which the English Church would purchase at any price' (47). In England and Wales churchwardens levied rates from parishioners for maintenance of naves and other schemes until the 1868 Compulsory Church Rate Act of Parliament stopped this practice. Relationships between the English and Manx Church were tested in 1874 when it was proposed to make Liverpool part of the Diocese of Sodor and Man, but the case was eventually abandoned. Royal Assent to the 1878 Tynwald Bishop's Temporality Act which regulated church properties and revenues in Man was delayed as English lawyers, unsuccessfully, challenged the right of Tynwald to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs. The retention of ecclesiastical authority in Man ensured Manx Church authorities controlled all Island baptisms, marriages and burials until at least 1884 when the Ecclesiastical Civil Judicature Transfer Act of Tynwald ended the Church's jurisdiction over matrimony, probate and all civil matters in the Island. However,

the requirement that the building, demolition, or changed use of Anglican churches be referred to Tynwald for approval was never rescinded. Manx churchwardens collected cesses until at least 1900 (Moore 1900: 851).

Meanwhile, the Welsh dioceses remained part of the established Church even though only 20% of worshippers attended Anglican churches (RC 1851). Campaigners in Wales wanted disestablishment and confiscation of the Church's ancient endowments, which caused problems because not all national boundaries coincided with those of dioceses or parishes, as in Trelystan and Leighton which lay within Wales but were administered from England. In 1919/20 parishioners actively voted these parishes remain within the Welsh Church, although administration continued by the Diocese of Hereford ($L^{L}GC$ Welsh Commission: 10). On the day on which the Act came into force all property within the four Welsh dioceses became vested in the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Wales (Harris et al. 1999: 2). The Manx Church remains established.

Language and education

Typically, the long, raised, medieval chancels in English medieval churches, the *locale* of male clerical activity, were divided structurally from the less prestigious nave where the less-active laity assembled (Cuming 1969: 20). *Habitus* ensured that few laypersons would ever have considered trying to enter a chancel. Worship was not communal, not least because naves were often divided into various chapels, so groups could not congregate easily. Those present were sometimes segregated by gender (Flather 2007: 139). Large rood screens and depictions of the Last Judgement filled up the chancel arches (Cuming 1969: 20) preventing parishioners from viewing chancel contents and liturgical proceedings clearly (Yates 2008: 6).

At the Reformation there were new hierarchical perceptions of a need to communicate with the people as single congregations. Links between religion and vernacular language were perceived as important, and audibility was emphasized (Purdy 1991: 13), but unanticipated difficulties arose from the continued use of medieval spaces that prevented ministers from always being heard and understood clearly. There were other problems too.

There had never been a university in Man, resulting in a dearth of graduates who spoke the vernacular to train as priests. In contrast, two universities had been

established in Wales by the fourteenth century and the Bible, Creeds, and hymns translated into Welsh (Williams 1979: 94). However, both universities closed before the Reformation, perhaps as a consequence of the influence of English customs and laws (ibid: 46, 47). This may have contributed towards the lack of appropriately educated Welsh-speaking clergy that practicality and Protestant paradigms dictated should be appointed at the Reformation (ibid: 11). Initially a number of Welsh bishops were appointed in Wales (White 1997: 237), but authorities seemed to perceive that no one in Man could fulfil this role where, from the first, non-Manx bishops were employed. Despite their non-graduate status (Table 11) Manx ministers were 'generally natives; [...], none else being qualified to preach and administer in the Manks [*sic*] language […]' (Wilson 1697: 110).

Table 11:

Proportions of graduate incumbents in office

Man (prior to 1668)	Clergy, 'generally Natives', were educated entirely in the Island (Chaloner 1656: 7). Vicar of Kirk Rushen, Englishman Richard Thompson M.A. was an exception (ibid.)
Man (from 1668)	Bishop Barrow established trusts for prospective clergy to go off Island to university (Hoy 2010: 48). Those trusts later also supported the training of boys for the Church in the Castletown Grammar School. Bishop Wilson supported on-Island training that produced non-graduate clergy by instigating parochial libraries (Yates et al. forthcoming: 14).
Man (from 19th c.)	Many Manx clergy were graduates of Trinity College Dublin, Oxford and Cambridge although a number of non-graduate clergy such as J.T. Clarke, chaplain of St Mark's 1827-1864, also continued to practice during this period (Gelling 1998: 221-242).
Worcester (1640)	84% were graduates (Wrightson et al. 1979: 11)
St. David's, Wales (1664-1670)	< 25% were graduates (E. Evans 1993: 30)

VRs from 1634 indicate that many spoke the vernacular. Bishop Phillips, as agent, translated the Prayer Book into Manx in 1610, perhaps because as a Welshman he actively empathized with the Manx people whose administrators were nearly all English, although for unknown reasons his translation was never used widely. In contrast, in Wales a Welsh translation of the Prayer Book had been published by 1567 (Peter Roberts 1997: 145). Publication implied use.

Access to education varied regionally. Parochial schools were created in Man in the seventeenth century and, although the 8th Earl of Derby ordered all his tenants to send their children under pain of fine, the resources needed must not have been available. It was not until 1703 that an Act of Tynwald actively imposed compulsory education in English on all Manx children (Mills 1821: 121) at a time when in England access to education was still a class issue (Wrightson and Levine 1979: 17). By then carefully selected Manx youths were being specially prepared for the Church at a higher level at Castletown Grammar School in the medieval building that was the town chapel until 1701. Prospective clergyman John Clarke wrote about his experiences at the Castletown school and described translating scriptural passages into Manx, Greek and Latin (1817-1820: 47, 49, 64) whilst studying there, where the curriculum concentrated on requirements for the local priesthood.

Despite these efforts the material culture revealed that literacy remained patchy in Man. Even some church officials like the members of chapter quests remained inactive in this respect because they signed their names on official documents with an 'X' (Platten 2010: 25). Inside St Mark's successive tie beams and principle rafters erected in 1772 were marked incorrectly with I, II, III, IIII, V, IV (field visit) and the inscriptions on the chalice and paten there were both apparently amended later to include the left out prefix 'ST.', suggesting the artisans involved may have been illiterate.

Between 1727 and 1870, no Welsh-speaking bishops were appointed in Wales (ibid: 238). Despite all this, use of Welsh language increased, some Welsh presentations and parish vestry records being written in the vernacular (ibid: 97), although this was not seen in documentation accessed, perhaps because of the proximity of the Welsh parishes studied to the English border. Long relationships with between Welsh and English border settlements were evidenced by a list of prisoners, including seven Englishmen, who lived in Trelystan between 1542 and 1580 (Chapman 1999: 127-30), implying larger numbers of English families lived

Table 12:

Use of vernacular language during services

Welsh translation of the BCP published by 1567 (Peter Roberts 1997: 145).
Style of language in early modern Manx official presentation records sometimes implied transcription directly from spoken Manx into English, suggesting many people continued to converse in Manx (Platten 2012, *pers. comm.*)

Welshman John Phillips' translation of the BCP into Manx during his Manx Episcopate (1604-1633) was not published until 1895 (Griffiths 2002: 532). In the absence of BCP or Bible in the Manx vernacular, Manx clergy probably transcribed extemporaneously from English editions during services until after 1765, when a limited first edition of the 1662 BCP in Manx was published (ibid.). First translation of New Testament into Manx printed in 1767 (Gelling 1998: 34).

Sunday services preached in vernacular every Sunday in at least 4 Manx churches, and on alternate Sundays in at least 8 Manx churches, in 1757. By 1833 such services every Sunday were noted in one church and on alternate Sundays in fifteen (Yates et al. forthcoming: 22).

	Kirk Malew	**Ballaugh**	**Castletown**	**St Mark's**	**Wales**
Regular services in vernacular in Man until *c.* 1879 (Gelling 1998: 35)	1634-1833 (MNH VR) order from Gover-nor to be read out 'in English and Manxe' (MNH PR 1659)	30 years ago '[...] Service and Sermon were in Manx [...] three Sunday mornings in the month' (Kermode et al. un-dated: 186)	no	Sunday services in Manks every other Sabbath' (MNH VR) 1830)	'Growing linguistic schism' between 'landed elites and the common people' (Jenkins 2003: 265)
parochial ownership of Manx or Welsh Bible or BCP		in 1763 Rev. P. Moore requested 'a few dozen' of the Prayer Books soon to be published in Manx BCP in Manx present (MNH VR (1786)	no		BCP in Welsh ($L^{L}GC$ PR, 1729-30) some Welsh presentations and vestry documentation recorded in vernacular (Jenkins et al. 1997: 97)

Table 13:

Use of English language inside churches

Materials in English	**Ballaugh**	**Kirk Malew**	**Castletown**	**St Mark's**	**Wales**
Decalogue	yes (date unknown)	1634	from at least 1826	n/a	yes
plaques	all	all	all	all	all
ecclesiastical records	from 1634	from 1634	from 1787	from 1772	all
secular records	n/a	n/a	1701-1925	n/a	yes
parochial libraries	yes (Kermode et al: 208)	yes (MNH VRs)	yes (Hoy 2010: 52)	no library	unknown
lists of incumbents	yes	1398-1912	unknown	1772-1828	all lists
benefactions boards	yes	yes	unknown	yes	all
Bible and BCP	unknown until 1748 (MNH VR)	from 1634	yes (dates unknown)	1875-1920	English editions held (L^{L}GC PR 1729)
inscriptions on plate	from 1710	pre-Ref-1900	1809-1830/1	1772	all
wall texts	1832	-	-	19th c.	n/a
war memorials	after 1918	1922	*c.* 1920	after 1918	yes
tracts	translation of *Sinner's Friend* no longer required (Kermode et al. after 1877: 186)				
services	service/sermon in English one Sunday morning a month (Kermode Et al. 1877-1934: 186)	1634-1833 (MNH VRs)	'There is no Manks service performed in St Mary's Chapel' (MNH VR 1833)	alternate Sunday services in English (MNH VR 1830)	services 'alternately Welch [*sic*] and English' (L^{L}GC VR 1795)

within this Welsh village. Later, in the mid-nineteenth-century, window glass designed and constructed in Shrewsbury found inside the Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (Haslam 1979: 56, 150) and Trelystan churches (ibid: 204) reiterated the active permeability of this border.

To conclude, during a period when the use of English during services increased in Manx churches, the 1889 Parliamentary Intermediate Education Act led to more of the Welsh people becoming bilingual, which resulted in Welsh continuing to be the language of religion in Wales. The context of language actively distinguished those with dissimilar cultural capital within, and between, Manx and Welsh communities.

Social issues

The absence of grand medieval architecture in Man except for the two Castles, Rushen Abbey, the Nunnery and Bishopscourt was testament to the lack of active contemporary social disparity, except between the indigenous population and those in political and religious authority who often came from off-Island. No evidence of archaeological investigations of quarterland farmsteads of similar dates in the Island that might contradict this viewpoint were discovered. From the dissolution of Rushen Abbey in 1541 the Isle of Man became a source of income for the Lords of Man except for short periods. The jurisdiction of the Magna Carta which reduced King John's powers was never extended to Man where feudal systems continued. The whole Island was owned by the Lordship and all Island landholders except for a few barons (Moore 1900: 739) were tenants who lost their leases after twenty-one years.

In contrast, in England and Wales a great deal of formerly ecclesiastical land came onto the market at the Reformation. In Wales many gentry embraced Protestantism because of its subsequent benefits in land acquisition (Williams 1979: 153). By 1640 traditional tenancy systems had disappeared in England (Wrightson and Levine 1979: 10) but by 1680 the gap between the living conditions of the affluent and the poor had increased (Wrightson 1982: 13), perhaps facilitated by the founding of a number of schools to educate prospective clergymen (Williams 1979: 17) which excluded Englishmen of low social status.

In Man, rural homes remained ‘mere hovels, compacted of stones and clay for walls, thatch’d with broom, most commonly containing one room only’ (Blundell 1648-1656: 57). In 1656 Chaloner reported that the people were ‘contented with simple Diet and lodging: their Drink, water: their Meat, Fish; their Bedding, Hay or Straw, [...]’ [*sic*] (5). Early modern Manx communities were probably largely self-sufficient in times of plenty for basic goods although timber, iron goods, salt, pitch, and tar were imported (ibid: 30). There was such a shortage of timber in the Island that a 1665 Act of Tynwald forbade anyone to cut, break, or spoil trees not on their property (Mills 1821: 107). ‘S. Radcliffe was presented for felling timber at Bishopscourt in 1667’ (Garrad 1985: 20). By 1791 the Manx peasantry still lived in extreme poverty in ‘wretched’ sod-walled huts interspersed amongst the farm houses and the Island was in ‘great want of timber-trees’ (Townley 1791: 35-6). Rector Wilks of Ballaugh, who wrote about farming and fishing in Ballaugh in 1774, also mentioned the impact lack of wood had on living conditions. The apparent shortage inside early-modern Manx churches implied in visitation returns and by the lack of surviving early wooden items contrasted markedly with the medieval and early-modern Welsh church interiors studied, which evidenced more activity in the intricately carved remnants of old wooden fixtures and fittings found.

In Ballaugh much of the land was either boggy or very hilly, and infertile (Wilson 1697: 91). By 1797/8 the village had

> a public brewery and ſeveral hat manufactories [...] fifteen to twenty herring boats [...] two corn mills. Flax is grown in ſmall quantities [...] population [...] 200 in 1726 [...] 1792 [...] 1015’ [...] Hats are made here, the wool being admirably adapted for that purpoſe. Some thouſands of rabbit ſkins uſed to be exported annually

(Feltham 1798: 187, 191).

The location of old Ballaugh Church near the seashore reflected the, once active, adjacent seaport. The port’s demise from coastal erosion, and its replacement with an agrarian economy, was evident in the new church built more than a mile inland in 1832.

In Malew limestone soil was ‘as good as can be desired’ (Wilson 1697: 91) reflected greater commercial activity. By 1797/8 there were ‘several publick

breweries, five corn and three flax mills' (Feltham: 261). 'A conſiderable quantity of grain' was exported via Castletown (ibid: 266). In the nineteenth century the limestone quarries adjoining Peel Road two miles outside Castletown employed many and supplied the whole Island with lime as well as exporting much. A disused quarry and limekilns have survived at Scarlett near Castletown. Local slate and black limestone continued to be conspicuous in Insular graveyards, evidence of activities associated with easy access to this resource. Blundell recorded that many mid-seventeenth century Castletown houses had two stories 'which the country houses for the most part have not' (1648-1656: 68). Certainly by the seventeenth century a number of grander houses had been built (Figures 114-116).

However, in years when harvests failed local populations relied on corn imported from England, implying a lack of resources for contingencies in supply and storage, which perhaps reflect low morale and inactivity related to tenancy law before 1645. Failed potato crops as late as 1846 contributed to increased emigration between 1847 and 1861 (Moore 1900: 553-555). Designation of 24 March 1847 as 'a Fast Day for the failure of the potato crop' in the Isle of Man (Cotter 1977: 16) implied its huge impact on Manx communities.

Wills listing legacies of single blankets and old clothing implied simple lifestyles. It was evident that the poor were perceived as a problem. In 1701 the collection taken at the consecration of the new St. Mary's Castletown reflected active concern for 'poor strangers and other distressed people' (MNH DD box 9). The presence of the poor and homeless, and concepts of the deservedness of individuals and families was evident in a 1761 bequest which 'expressly' excluding those capable of begging from house to house in Castletown (MNH PR, Malew wills). Subjective concepts were perpetuated and shared more widely. In Trelystan in 1828 the deserving sat in pews, the poor on simple benches (SA VR). Ballaugh vestry minutes (MNH PR) from 1845 repeatedly referred to the needy, perceptions of their deservedness and how they were to be dealt with.

Prescriptive language used in both regions implied shared cultural practices and perceptions of worthiness related to social and economic capital stemming from those in charge. Bishop Barrow thought the economic capital of seventeenth-century Manx clergymen low although their hardships were hardly comparable with the lay destitution noted above. Language used and concern about poor maintenance of parsonages in official documentation may have reflected unrealistic hierarchical

expectations in the context of Manx clergy perpetuating local *habitus.* Apparent reluctance by incumbents to maintain their homes to a high standard or to wear distinctive dress may have reflected the relative poverty of Insular clergy or just a lack of perception that there should be social differences between themselves and laity they may have grown up with. But Bishop Barrow was unhappy about the activities of some clergy supplementing their low stipends by selling beer (MNH PR, Kirk Malew 1667), revealing a judgemental paradigm that perceived the social capital of the clergy above that of the common people even though English clergy also often added to their stipends. His solution, probably based on his own official and social standing and others' perceptions of his authority, was practical rather than reprimanding. He actively acquired all the impropriate tithes in 1666 and was key agent in attaining of an annual Royal Bounty of £100 from Charles II in 1675/6 towards augmenting clerical stipends, the latter of which was only replicated in England in 1704, from Queen Anne. The Duke of Atholl sold his interests in the impropriate tithes to the Crown in 1827 and thereafter the Malew stipend was paid by the Manx Government. From 1829 the impropriate tithes in Man were vested in the Commissioners for Woods and Forests who benefited from the Crown proportion and also paid regular, small amounts to Malew's incumbents until 1946. In contrast, the Georgian architecture that has survived in Manx ports like Castletown strongly implied successful lay income associated with trade, English immigration and English religious and civil governance.

Although, in contrast, successive clergy at Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain enjoyed considerably better living conditions than their Manx colleagues ($L^{L}GC$ PR), no parsonage was ever built in the village of Trelystan. Variations probably reflected shared perceptions about the status of both livings. Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain was a rectory, Trelystan a curacy.

Another social issue was the relationship between men and women. Early modern English women were rarely identified in particular occupations except as servants, alehouse-keepers, and midwives (Wrightson and Levine 1979: 21). In Man midwifery was the only female occupation noted in ecclesiastical documentation although apparently four female freeholders in Man took part in choosing a deputation to interview Earl William about an unspecified subject in 1700 (Cubbon 1952: 212-3). Direct payments for services to several eighteenth-century Castletown townswomen without reference to male relatives were recorded in the CRP. Manx

women like Mary and Catherine Corlett of Ballaugh made their own wills (MNH EPR 1737, 1755) and some participated in jury service (Cubbon 1952: 212-13). Female enfranchisement in Man in 1882 reflected female property tenancy rather than perceptions of gender inequality as undesirable. But women were poorly represented materially inside all the churches during the entire research period except in the context of their relationships with men.

Populations peaked around 1859 in all parishes studied (Table 14). Local fluctuations reflected disease, famine and perinatal mortality visible in all the burials registers and graveyards accessed. Material evidence of emigration and immigration is discussed in Chapter VIII. Growing populations and the 1666 fire of London stimulated widespread church-building and renovation programmes in England that reflected Protestant liturgical practice. This trend became visible a little later in mid-Wales, when a north transept was added to Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain in 1727. In Man, where all the Manx churches studied were enlarged or rebuilt between 1701 and 1781 (Table 15), a new chapel was also built at St Mark's in the parish of Malew.

Table 14:

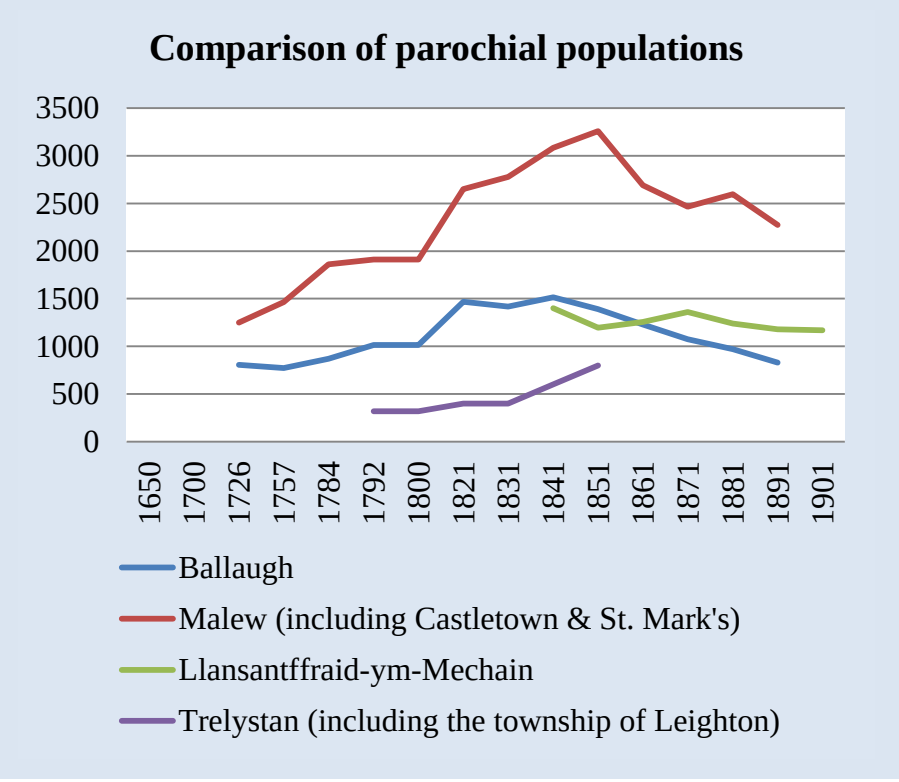


Table 15:

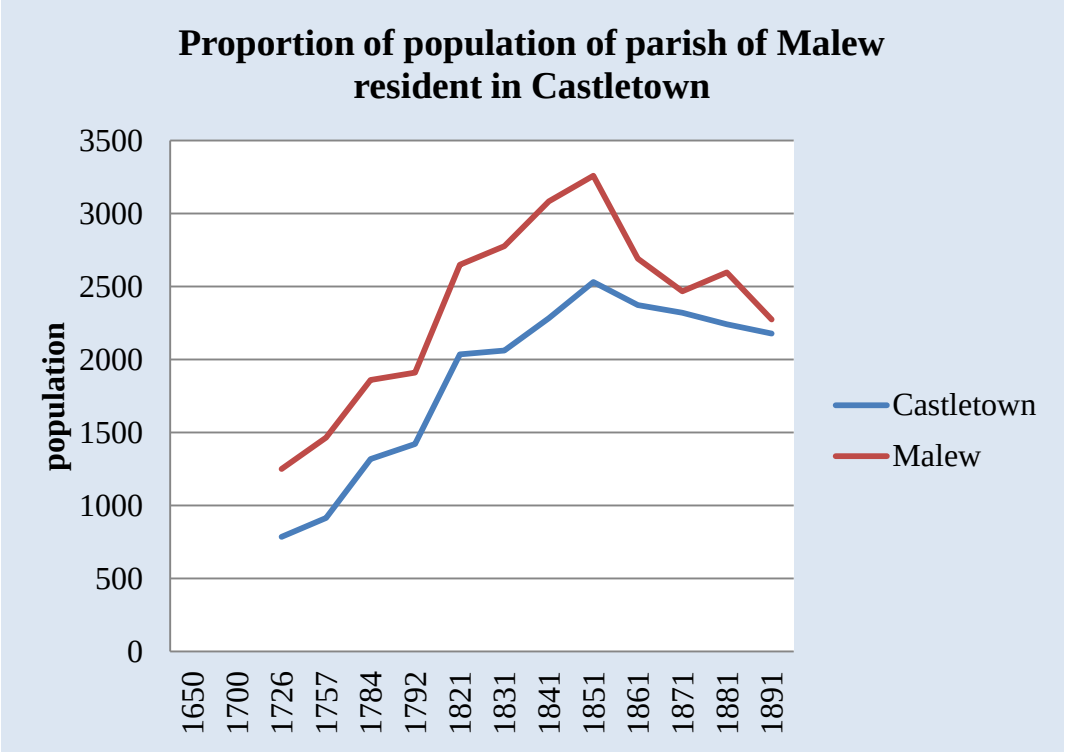
Eighteenth century church building	
1701	St. Mary's Castletown built (MNH DD box 98)
1717	old Ballaugh enlarged eastwards (ibid. box 96)
1727	north transept added onto Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (Silvester and Frost 1999: 2)
1772	St Mark's Chapel built in Malew (MNH DD box 103)
1781	Kirk Malew chancel rebuilt (ibid.)
1781	Kirk Malew north transept built (ibid.)

In Man technical advances over time provided more opportunities for social intercourse and commerce between Island communities. A 1776 Act of Tynwald facilitated the repair of highways and the draining of marshland (Moore 1900: 530). Tynwald ordered roads were to be at least eighteen feet wide. This activity impacted onto communities by enabling the transport of goods like limestone from Malew **to** areas like Ballaugh where the soil was less fertile, by horse and cart. But funding was not always available and country roads were still very basic in the early 1800s (ibid: 633-635) although Feltham noted the availability of post-chaises in Castletown (1798: 129). It seems much traffic was still on foot. Thomas Clarke, later chaplain of St. Mark's, recorded walking the thirty or so miles home to the north of the Island from Castletown during school holidays (1817-1820: 72). Many years later he was instrumental in raising funds for bridge-building schemes around St Mark's (ibid. 1864: 17) so families in outlying parochial districts could travel to school and church services more easily. Mr Bridson of Ramsey in his old age remembered a 'four-in-hand' that could carry six to eight passengers 'running out of Ramsey' the nearest urban area to Ballaugh, sometime in his youth (MNH MFLS 1959). This distant memory transcribed by an interviewer placed events described to around the turn of the nineteenth century. So it seems there were means for people to move between settlements more easily by that time, although it was not discovered if ordinary people at the lower end of the social scale had the financial means to access this resource.

Reduced populations in Castletown after 1850 (Table 16) corresponded with the development of Douglas harbour in the nineteenth century and consequent relocation of much shipping, commerce, capital status and Tynwald sessions from Castletown to Douglas by 1869. It was not until 1874 that travel by rail between Douglas and Castletown became possible.

In Wales, the mountainous topography probably prolonged use of the vernacular. It was not until around 1860 when the new railway network facilitated access to daily newspapers in English and mass migration of English speakers into Wales related to the opening up of the coalfields (Williams 1979: 144-5) that English became more widely spoken there. Between the 1891 and 1921 censuses a fall of 10.9% in Welsh speakers was recorded (ibid: 146).

Table 16: (Moore 1900 and CR 1821)



In Man, although the use of Manx persisted, it was no longer the most common form of communication. Towards the end of the eighteenth century increased use of English (MNH VR) encouraged English Anglican clergymen and Nonconformist ministers to practice in the Island. The arrival of Nonconformism was commemorated in Castletown Square in the memorial inscription that marked

John Wesley's 1777 visit. He was apparently reluctant that his ministers preach in Manx although some in rural communities were unenthusiastic about relinquishing their native tongue. In 1951 P. Bridson, aged eighty-six, referred repeatedly to his mother's continued use of Manx language (MNH MFLS 1951). The relatively late appearance of Nonconformism in Man was also influenced by the prolonged authority of the ecclesiastical courts in Man. Neither did the Manx Industrial Revolution have the same effects as in England and Wales because the lack of Insular coal deposits restricted its growth. As a result relationships between rural and urban communities were not so greatly disrupted as in England. However, those between the Manx laity and clergy did change around the beginning of the nineteenth century. Prior to that, the rigorous education the Manx clergy received at Castletown enabled individuals to discuss scriptural ideas deeply with locally-raised clergy, whom they may have known since childhood, in their native tongue. Once larger numbers of prospective Manx clergy began to attend off-Island universities that may have exposed them to less scripturally focused educations, opportunities became available in Man for Nonconformist preachers.

Collins (1994: 40), when writing about the education of clergymen in England at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, wrote that at Oxford and Cambridge education was generic, whatever the proposed career path of undergraduates, so Anglican clergy may not have been as familiar with their Bibles as their Nonconformist colleagues.

If the social gap between Manx Anglican laity and clergy widened at this time, the advent of Nonconformism offered ordinary people previously unavailable choices. In Man Nonconformism was strongly but unwittingly facilitated by the 1703 Act of Tynwald that made education in English compulsory. Initially, meetings took place outdoors and in people's homes (Chapman 1971: 1), but by 1797/8 a Methodist chapel built in Ballaugh was one of fifteen in the Island noted by Feltham (240). Two more were built in Ballaugh in 1807 and 1843. A number of contemporary Nonconformist buildings, also evidenced by the date-stones that have survived *in situ*, have remained visible in the landscape within the parish of Malew. Some did not have to travel far to services although many who attended chapel may have continued to go to church too for a time, evidenced by the memories of Mr Bridson of families attending both church and chapel in the north of the Island, and

of their children's subsequent enjoyment of the annual picnics and tea parties run by both institutions (MFLS 1959).

The situation was similar in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain where Methodism became visible materially around 1797. Earlier, as late as 1795, Methodists in that parish continued to attend services in the parish church because they had no chapel of their own ($L^{L}GC$ VR 1795). Although no Nonconformist chapels were built in Trelystan or Leighton, Methodism was evident within the landscape of many nearby communities. Indeed the new churches at Leighton and Bwlch-y-cibau may well have been as much to do with the threat of Nonconformism as with rising populations related to the Industrial Revolution. The graveyard of the Wesleyan chapel in Bwlch-y-cibau that contained the 1857 gravestone of Reverend Thomas Batten predated the parish church built in the village in 1864.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of relative inactivity in the established Church. On Victoria's succession a large number of English church interiors still retained pre-Reformation arrangements (Anson 1960: 17).

The eight new Manx churches built during Ward's Episcopate (1828-1838), funded largely from England and Ireland also all retained some Georgian internal arrangements. Some replaced old Manx churches that had not been well-maintained. Ballaugh rector Childs wrote that as late as 1828 many Manx churches still had mud floors and inadequate seating (1982: 48). This was supported by Clarke's description of his arrival in St Mark's in 1828 (1864: 17). Even if these accounts were written long after the events described they represented personal memories rather than those of earlier generations that may have been less accurate. Other sources supported their comments. In 1829 a female relative of Bishop Ward described [old] Ballaugh Church as 'poor' (Kermode et al. 1877-1934: 74). Her comments reflected her experiences in England, but three years later it closed for services. And, as late as 1833, St Mark's owned only a single Bible and Prayer Book (MNH VR). Services were not always decorous either. In the same year, in Castletown, the sexton's duties still included keeping dogs out of church and helping the wardens maintain order and decorum during services (ibid).

Maybe solemnity during services dated from the influence of the Cambridge Camden Society. English Gothic revivalism appeared inside English Anglican churches from 1841 (Addleshaw and Etchells 1948: 36). Representations in novels of the material changes made inside churches at this time may have had a particular

impact on the perceptions of those women who read them. Mr Slope's unhappiness with the new arrangements and increased use of 'ritualistic practices', when his 'gall rises at a new church with a high pitched roof […]' (Trollope 1857: 25) may have influenced some. In Man, ecclesiological arrangements have been almost universally incomplete.

The ecclesiologist Neale (1848: 23) expressed his disappointment in the Manx church interiors he visited, not least 'on the old Manx plan' in Kirk Malew where he described the new windows as mere 'attempts at stained glass' and new Ballaugh, that he thought 'remarkable for nothing but its ugliness'. The incomplete late nineteenth-century renovations in new Ballaugh and Kirk Malew (Table 17), where the retained doored pews, and the lack of central aisle in new Ballaugh represented traditional Manx perceptions, would not have pleased him more.

In contrast, in Wales the new churches in Bwlch-y-cibau and Leighton were built in an ecclesiological style. Variations affected how all those buildings and spaces continued to be used.

Table 17:

Ecclesiological renovations	
1856	Trelystan (incomplete)
1892/3	new Ballaugh (incomplete)
	old Ballaugh (incomplete)
	Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (correct)
before 1900	Kirk Malew (incomplete)
	St Mark's (incomplete)
after 1920	1826 St Mary's Castletown (minimal)
n/a	medieval and 1701 Castletown chapels
Ecclesiological builds	
1853	Leighton (exaggerated)
1864	Bwlch-y-cibau (correct)

By 1892 it seems living conditions for most in Man had improved. At a bazaar held in August 1892 to raise funds for improvements to the interior of new Ballaugh Parish Church the Bishop was quoted as saying: '[...] the homes of the people of the Isle of Man, and on the whole on the mainland generally, are very much better than they were thirty or forty years ago' (Kermode et al. 1877-1934: 76) although one cannot be certain that his personal experiences extended beyond the homes of his social equals. However, episcopal activity between 1894 and 1898 requesting that the Easter offerings be given to Manx incumbents implied recognition that the falling value of tithes that decreased clerical stipends caused 'great distress among the clergy' (Gelling 1998: 197).

In Wales economic factors began to take precedence over class, perhaps facilitated by Nonconformist relationships between ministers and people, which were not as hierarchical as in the Church of England. Clashes between Anglican landowners and ordinary people who supported Nonconformism may have weakened ties between tenants and landowners and strengthened those between tenant farmers and industrialists.

In pre-1914 England, Anglican clergymen continued to be perceived of as part of the upper class and many laymen accepted that clergymen might spend a great deal of time away from parish work contributing nothing to the economy. 'As long as he could afford a hard-working curate he rightly considered it his own affair if he chose to spend three days a week playing in club and country-house matches all over the country' (Sassoon, 1937: 58). However, the new century heralded much social change. The Archbishop of Canterbury accepted this when he formally granted people permission to work in the fields on Sundays in 1914 (ibid: 455). It was not discovered how this edict was received in Man. But war memorials inside churches in all regions that recorded the courage and worth of men regardless of social status recognized the extraordinary impact of the 1914-1918 war onto all British communities, albeit the dead were listed according to rank and excluded most women who died because of their war work. It seemed that those in authority strove to perpetuate traditional perceptions that marginalized the worth of contributions made by those perceived as having low social and gender capital.

Conclusions

Parliamentary law and the long, pervious border with England that facilitated English involvement in Welsh affairs was less visible in Man, where jurisdiction from Tynwald prevailed except when the Island was specifically mentioned within Parliamentary Acts.

Subtle differences in patterns of early modern social status were noted between Manx and Welsh communities. Sources suggested that many Manx clergymen rarely moved off-Island until the nineteenth century and spoke, dressed and lived much as their fellow countrymen did. Social distinctions appeared to have been widest between indigenous people inclusive of their bilingual clergy and their English religious and civil superiors. In contrast, in Wales even early modern bilingual clergymen often pursued opportunities for more prestigious employment in England, leaving curates paid at lower rates to officiate for them at home. Social divisions became more evident over time between those who spoke only Welsh and those who spoke English, whether they were Welsh or English. In Man and in Wales, use of English became a shared route to economic success whereas in England, social divisions seemed more related to literacy and access to higher education, many being excluded. Nevertheless by the end of the period studied the Welsh had actively restored widespread use of Welsh language, often via Nonconformity, and had disestablished the Church in Wales. The Manx were less active in this respect. English became the norm, Tywald kept control of Insular ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the Anglican Church remained established despite the eventual arrival and widespread adoption of Nonconformism.

Documentary sources accessed were most often produced in context with official events. Related shared prescriptive and subjective high status *habitus* revealed aspects of social relationships throughout the whole period considered. Many documents unwittingly referred to long-gone material culture, adding an extra dimension for their interpretation that descriptions of events alone could never convey. It was this aspect of historical sources that has contributed most usefully to the following chapters, which have considered post-Reformation ecclesiastical material culture for evidence of human and material interactivity.

In conclusion, despite the shared aspect of Anglicanism between English, Welsh and Manx cultures that supported their consideration as geographical contexts

for each other, the literature highlighted regionally-specific political, religious and social variations between the three. The historical timeline on pages 92-98 has précised some of the regionally-specific activities discussed in this chapter as a quick reference for readers unfamiliar with Welsh and Manx variations of English historical events. Discrepancies in rules, their interpretation, and availability of resources noted in the material culture within established churches and chapels-of-ease that reflected structuration ideas about variations of human agency, and perceptions of material activity, facilitated the enquiries made within the following chapters.

Historical Timeline

Dates	**Activities/agency in the Isle of Man**	**Activities/agency in England and Wales**
	Unwritten vernacular language	Written vernacular language
14th c.	No Manx university	Two Welsh universities
12th c.	Church governed from Norway	Church governed from Canterbury
13th c.-1701	use of medieval St Mary's Chapel, Castletown	
1509		**Henry VIII**
1536	No Royal Arms inside churches Parliamentary Acts did not apply except by specific mention	Royal Arms inside churches Parliamentary Act of Union linked Church and state
1538		Post of Vicar General abolished
1541	Dissolution of Rushen Abbey – 14 of 17 rectories demoted	only one-third of Welsh rectories demoted
1542	Canon law contradicting Manx civil law was inactive	Parliament legislated for inclusion of IOM into province of York
	Bishops active in Tynwald	Bishops active in House of Lords
1547		**Edward VI**

Dates	Activities/agency in the Isle of Man	Activities/agency in England and Wales
from 1549	unknown use of BCP	BCP in English in use (Johnson 1987: 23)
1553		**Mary** actively persuaded Parliament to rescind nearly all post-1528 ecclesiastical legislation
1558		**Elizabeth I**
1570	John Salisbury first protestant Bishop of Sodor and Man	
1603-1625		**James I**
1605-1626		Bishop Lancelot Andrewes in post
1625-1649		**Charles I**
1633-1635	Bishop William Foster in post	
1633-1645		Archbishop William Laud in post
1634	English BCP in use	
1642-1651		English Civil War
1644-1661	Episcopal interregnum but Ecclesiatical Courts maintained under civil governance	
1644-1661	No incumbent pluralism but many bishops visited infrequently	Pluralism rife, and abolished in Wales
1649-1659	Commonwealth	Commonwealth – ecclesiastical courts disbanded
1650-1660	BCP ‘ceased to be used’ (Moore 1900: 367)	Suppression of BCP and Replacement with *Directory for Publique Worship*
1650-1660	Thomas Fairfax active as Lord of Man	
1660-1685		**Charles II**

Dates	Activities/agency in the Isle of Man	Activities/agency in England and Wales
1660-1672	Charles 8th Earl of Derby Lord of Man	
1662	Parliamentary Act of Uniformity inactive in Man. Moderately-dissident clergy continued to practice within the established Church	Act of Uniformity excluded dissidents, including clergymen, from public office
1663-1671 1664-1671 1665	Bishop Isaac Barrow active as Governor and in episcopal visitations	
1672-1702	William 9th Earl of Derby Lord of Man	
1685-1688		**James II**
1689-1702		**William & Mary**
1689		William & Mary's Act of Toleration actively removed many religious restrictions
	No evidence if non-jury activity found	Limited non-jury activity
		Nonconformist chapels began to appear in the landscape
1696	Tynwald agent in forbidding clerical plurality	
1698-1755	Bishop Thomas Wilson in post	
1701-1824	1701 St Mary's Chapel Castletown in use	
1702-1714		**Anne**
1702-1736	James 10th Earl of Derby Lord of Man active as ultimate civil/ ecclesiastical authority	Crown active as supreme head of Church
from 1703	Wilson active in making education in English compulsory for all	

Dates	Activities/agency in the Isle of Man	Activities/agency in England and Wales
from 1704	Tynwald active in requiring that they ratify episcopal prescriptions before enactment	
1705	10th Earl donor of marble altar to Castletown Chapel	
1714-1727		**George I**
1727-1760		**George II**
1736		Methodism actively prospering (Hattersley 2002: 126)
1736-1764	James 2nd Duke of Atholl Lord of Man	
1755-1773	Bishop Mark Hildesley in post	
1760-1820		**George III**
1765	Revestment of Isle of Man (economic slump)	King became Lord of Man
1765	Limited edition of BCP in Manx published	
	1st display of Royal Arms inside Manx churches	
1772	Congregation active in building St Mark's Chapel	
1777	Charles Wesley visited	
1781	K Malew building schemes reflected renewed business activity in Castletown	
1797/8	John Feltham noted 15 Nonconformist chapels	
1818		Parliamentary Church Building Act actively reduced powers of ecclesiastical courts
1820-1830		**George IV**

Dates	Activities/agency in the Isle of Man	Activities/agency in England and Wales
1826	Business community active in funding building of1826 St Mary's Chapel, Castletown	
1828-1838	Bishop Ward in post	
1830-1837		**William IV**
1832	New Ballaugh built	
1836		Unsuccessful Parliamentary attempt to assimilate IOM into Diocese of Carlisle
1837-1901		**Victoria**
1839		Cambridge Camden Society formed
1845	97% of seats in N transept in K Malew had changed hands	
1851	Religious census	Religious census
1853		JohnNaylor active in building Leighton
1856		Church's jurisdiction of civil matters ended
1856		John Naylor agent in ecclesiological renovations to Trelystan
1861	IOM only actively involved in York after 1861	
1864		Community active in building Bwlch-y-cibau
1869	by 1869 Castletown inactive when capital status and Tynwald transferred to Douglas	
1884	Tynwald actively removed Manx Church's jurisdiction in civil matters	

Dates	Activities/agency in the Isle of Man	Activities/agency in England and Wales
1874		Failure of Parliamentary attempt to place Liverpool into Diocese of Sodor and Man
1889		Intermediate Education Act allowed official use of vernacular in Wales
c. 1892	Congregations active in styles of renovations undertaken K Malew only partially renovated	Ecclesiological ideas agent in renovations undertaken in Llansatfffraid –ym-Mechain
1901-1910		**Edward VII**
1910-1936		**George V**
1919-20		Telystan community actively voted to transfer into Church in Wales
1920	Castletown designated parochial status	Welsh Church disestablished
21st c.	Post of Vicar General remains active	

Chapter IV

Material Definition of Liturgical Spaces

Notions that 'all social life is episodic' apply to 'the whole range of social activity' (Giddens 1993: 244)

Relationships between chancels and naves are significant to church archaeology (Peters 1996: 68) because human agency, such as that noted in the previous chapter, actively created those two well-documented, and distinct, material *locales* within all Anglican interiors. This study explored how the material culture, probably reinforced by human enactment based on devotional practices during services, informed others of distinctions between these two spaces. The material arrangements also provided evidence of the socio-economic tensions between those involved in the construction, use, and renovation of sacred spaces in the contexts of the prevalent rules, and available resources at different times and places, relevant to the structuration approach taken.

The new Protestant authorities did not have access to the resources necessary to replace existing churches, evidenced in the survival and continued use of many, once Catholic, *locales.* Only remnants of a few medieval material arrangements that once designated the strict use of chancels and naves by different social groups, have survived. This suggested that changes were made in liturgical arrangements at the junction of chancel and nave at or after the Reformation, as Protestant officials tried to ensure that all within congregations could participate fully in services by being able see, and hear, what was going on. The author investigated how chancels were maintained, relationships between chancel screens, altar rails, pulpits and altars, Royal Arms, roofs, floors, and windows, and the relative sizes of chancels and naves over the *longue durée,* in the anticipation that consideration of those contexts would reveal something about changing perceptions, activities, and use of sacred spaces within the buildings studied.

Maintenance of chancels

Incumbents often perceived the maintenance of chancels as their responsibility, and parishioners, that they must care for the nave of the church they attended. As late as 1845/6 'the Rector of Ballaugh's portion of expenses for painting the windows and doors of the chancel' was noted (MNH PR, Ballaugh CWA), and congregational cesses were still being collected towards the repair of Manx naves in 1900 (Moore 1900: 851). CWA, court, and VR records accessed reflected official perceptions of both as separately-administered spaces even though the division between the two was not always visible structurally, as in old Ballaugh from 1849. There were contradictions.

In the 1701 Castletown chapel both nave and chancel were maintained by the Lordship of Man between 1705 and 1765 (Stott 2009). Nothing remains of this chapel to tell if there was a structural division between chancel and nave, but references to the two areas separately in the CRP implied contemporary perceptions of two distinct *locales*. However, the whole 1701 building was allowed to deteriorate after 1765 until it became unusable.

The chancel in the new chapel built in Leighton in 1853 by John Naylor (PR, Leighton) was divided structurally from the nave. However, he also maintained the whole building. This was reflected in the way this building was furnished, which blurred this boundary, as discussed below.

Chancels and naves were interdependent during the periodic corporate discourses which took place within all churches and chapels after the Reformation. They occupied opposite ends within shared walls that separated the sacred events that took place within each from the profane world outside (Douglas 2003: 42-43). Although the material culture showed that during the early-modern period each space was maintained and used according to shared perceptions of differences between the social capital of families, between men and women, and between clergy and congregation, on another level such as during baptisms, all were perceived as vital parts of the Church as a whole. Participation in Holy Communion may have been more selective about perceptions of deservedness, but nevertheless bonded those involved together.

On the whole, Herefordshire chancels were better maintained than naves (Paul 2005: 76). That was not the findings in Man or mid-Wales. In Kirk Malew the

chancel was so dilapidated it had to be re-built in 1781, but the medieval nave has survived. The medieval Ballaugh chancel was demolished in 1717 and its successor pulled down in 1849 because it was 'ruinous' (MNH DD 1849, box 96). That medieval nave continued in use too.

In Trelystan the 1856 nave renovations contrasted with continued use of an older style of chancel arrangements.

Nineteenth-century changes in the liturgical arrangements that encouraged free seating and re-established liturgical focus onto chancels reflected social and demographic changes facilitated by the Industrial Revolution and challenges posed by Nonconformism. However, as will be shown, collective memories strongly influenced activities. Nineteenth-century renovations that were the culmination of several centuries of experience and social change were not always implemented as officials may have hoped.

Chancel screens

Edward VI was key agent in the removal of roods from above the chancel screens that divided most medieval chancels from naves (Pounds 2000: 448). This may have included the elimination of some screens too (Neale 1843a: 27). Elizabeth I's sanctions about roods and screens were less rigid (Duffy 2005: 568). Although a new Royal Order in 1561 advocated the preservation of rood screens (Addleshaw and Etchells 1948: 37), how actively, or widely, parishioners implemented the rules was not discovered. A large number of chancel screens were built in England between 1618 and 1689 (ibid: 38-9), but no evidence was found that this happened in any of the churches studied. Kirk Malew and Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain probably retained their medieval screens throughout Elizabeth's reign and beyond (Table 18).

Remnants of a medieval screen noticed behind the Trelystan altar-table in 1830 (Crossley and Ridgeway 1946/7: 181-2) implied incomplete but potentially-violent iconoclasm that possibly linked its removal from between chancel and nave soon after the Reformation, as did the lack of Faculty evidence about its removal.

Table 18:

Medieval chancel screens: demolition

possibly 16th century	Trelystan
c. 1639 (MNH EPR)	Malew
by 1701 when converted into a schoolroom (MNH DD box 98)	medieval St. Mary's Castletown
by 1717 when east end was extended (Feltham 1798: 188)	old Ballaugh
1727 (Jones 1871: 100)	Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain

Faculty permission to make changes was not required until the seventeenth century (Pounds 2000: 397). The likelihood of an early date was supported further by the lack of related written sources, although this may just as well have reflected clerical inaccessibility to appropriate materials, poor storage facilities or Trelystan's lowly chapel-of-ease status. Consequently, this and other events there could not always be dated accurately.

Part of this screen has survived. Long folk memories may have stimulated retrieval of remnants after their removal, but how early-modern parishioners perceived its storage behind the altar table remains unknown. Re-labelling of old materials was a tried and tested strategy to facilitate successful change that probably minimized related conflict. Church officials elsewhere found that there were problems when they removed prompts like chancel screens that reminded parishioners of the mystique of chancel and the altar that lay to the east. The way the remnants were displayed at Trelystan gave out different messages. John Parker drew the five bays of the screen upside-down, probably as he saw them in 1830 (Crossley and Ridgeway 1946/7: 219, 221). Surely, as an educated individual, he was familiar with learned, historical, architectural accounts of conventional Romanesque arches, and recognized that an ancient screen composed of open U-shapes had probably been inverted. The absence of associated documentation ensured the reasoning behind

these unconventional arrangements could not be discovered. However, a number of unsubstantiated possibilities came to mind. Earlier members of this isolated community were probably illiterate, unaware of traditional architectural forms, and, practically, may have displayed it upside-down to reveal the decorative lower sections which would otherwise have been hidden behind the altar. The screen's display upside-down implied shared perceptions that this material was no longer liturgically or devotionally active. The clergy may have used the screen's new position and orientation to teach parishioners about the insignificance of its past meaning. Parishioners and clergy may have agreed that displaying the screen upside-down expressed rejection for older liturgical practices which still formed part of shared memories. If such new ideas caused social unrest officials may have delayed placing the upturned screen remnants behind the altar-table until the community had adjusted to Protestantism, some time after the screen was removed from between chancel and nave. Such a time gap would have accounted for the non-survival of the remainder, which may have been exposed to the weather in the interim. Other possibilities were that some particularly but no longer understood Catholic symbolism was deliberately made redundant if viewed upside-down. Or the screen remnants were installed upside-down accidently because no-one could remember, or thought it significant, which way was meant to be up.

This situation was avoided in Kirk Malew and Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain by the retention of their chancel screens *in situ*, both of which must have actively continued to remind parishioners that despite the liturgical changes made, Protestant authorities approved of continued respect for the chancel spaces concerned. The preservation of what seemed likely, in the absence of Protestant documentation suggesting later installation, were medieval lofts between chancels and naves in these two churches challenged Parry's (2006: 87) statement that this feature had been removed from most churches by Elizabethan times as a universal feature of early modern Anglicanism. His book reflected an Anglo-centric view that did not include what happened in Wales or Man. A dispute considered by an ecclesiastical court in Kirk Malew in 1686 recorded the following witness statement:

> [...] in anno 1636, there was a loft over the reading place, down from the wall betwixt the chancel and church [...]. A year or two after (or thereabouts) orders came from his grace at York to the lord bishop of the isle (Dr Richard

> Parr) to uniform the churches here; his lordship caused the said quires to be taken away and the loft to be removed to the very bottom of the church [...] (Bray 2005: 115).

The credence of this official account was supported by a 1639 presentation that stated 'it is ordered that y^{e} tops of y^{e} two quires in y^{e} Church shal bee taken off [...] wth ye seates under y^{em}' [*sic*] (MNH EPR), suggesting some structures near the division between Kirk Malew chancel and nave were probably moved from that position around 1639. Parliamentarians who recognized that form did dictate meaning to those who attended services cannot have been active in the demolition of this screen. However, its removal may have expressed the vicar's and congregation's active rejection of Laud's tenets. Yates et al. argued for a long-held, widespread puritan paradigm (forthcoming).

Equally, whatever screen was once used in medieval St Mary's Castletown, any possible remnants had surely lost all authority by 1701 when that chancel and nave became part of the school that had already existed elsewhere within the same building.

In Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain someone removed the screen-work in 1727 (Jones 1871: 100). No evidence was found that these were Laudian structures. Rather, their eventual removal implied they were medieval. The survival of significant quantities of very old wood and evidence of early, skilled artisanship inside this building implied local access to considerable resources in materials and workmanship, as well as shared pride in those artisans and the items they had constructed. This probably reflected local, long-standing self-confidence that may have also once applied to the older screen. The screen's survival until 1727 suggested local reluctance to change. A new incumbent may have been the active agent in its removal, implying the possibility of clerical activity over lay wishes. However, no documents that might have contained such information were discovered. By the time the Llansantffraid screen was demolished it was redundant, because by then ecclesiastical authorities had persuaded congregations to accept altar rails to delineate the most sacred space within each church (Fincham and Tyacke 2007: 305).

Perhaps shared geographical parochial isolation created logistical difficulties for officials to visit any of these buildings earlier. Possibly checking how form

reflected practice in rural Wales or Man was a low hierarchical priority for a time. Certainly visitations were only periodic, and they may have focused on what were perceived by central authorities to have been more urgent concerns. Local populations may also have hoped for a return to more traditional practices.

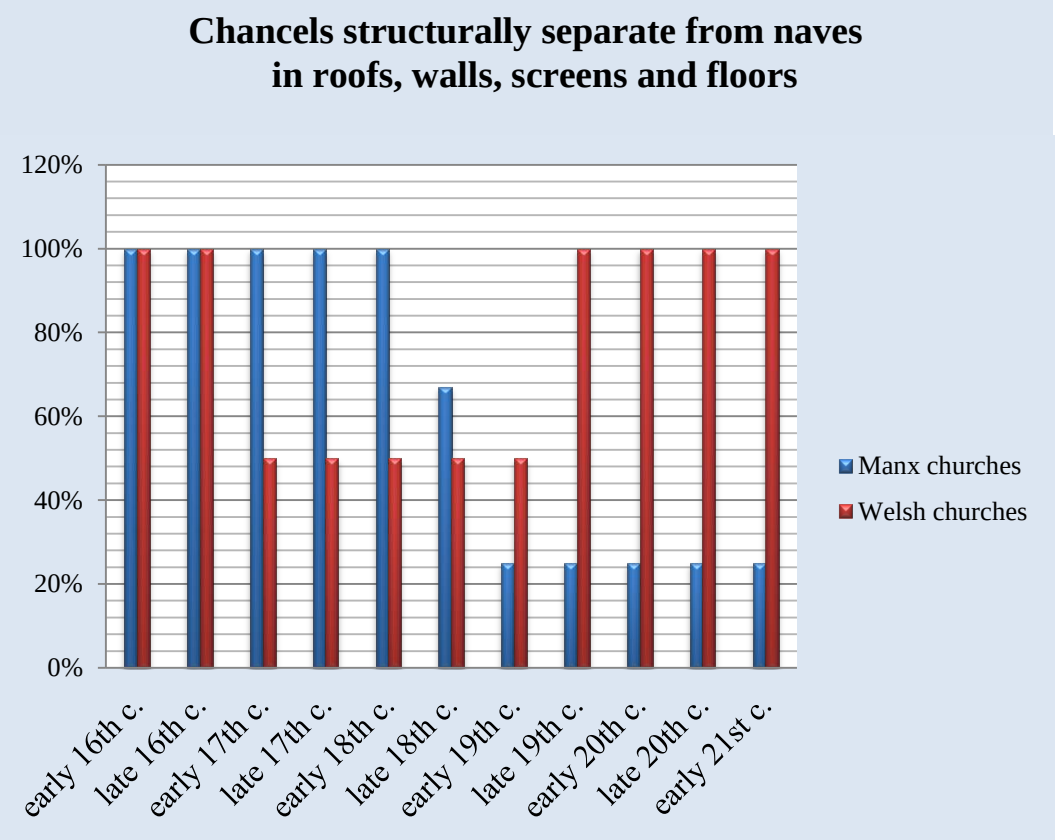
From the mid-nineteenth century the focus of Anglican liturgies shifted from pulpits to altars. Although Addleshaw and Etchells thought the vast majority of screens were destroyed after 1851 (1948: 37), in Trelystan the medieval remnants were re-installed between the south side of the chancel and nave in 1856. Its form was copied in a light oak version on the north side of the chancel. The congregation and church authorities actively supported the reinstallation of the medieval screen, but none seemed motivated to investigate what the traditional arrangements had been. Despite John Naylor's (of nearby Leighton) generous funding, local farmers' efforts in hauling more than half of the materials involved from Welshpool (Guardian 1857), and the necessary Faculty permission, the screen was reinstalled upside-down. This was surely not un-noticed by Naylor, the arrangements in his Leighton church implying his familiarity with traditional forms. Apparently its unorthodox alignment was perceived as irrelevant.

Although Naylor's activities in the Trelystan renovations surely reflected the previous long relationship between the two townships when residents of Leighton attended services in Trelystan, the very different styles between the relatively plain Trelystan interior, and the enthusiastic ecclesiological arrangements Naylor funded at Leighton implied his contribution to Trelystan was probably only a gesture rather than a reflection of a strong personal relationship with the chapel. The modern screen on the north side of the aisle that replicated the subtler details of the older screen poorly did little but partition that side of nave and chancel. It is hard to imagine that it has ever had any other meaning for anyone.

In Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain a new chancel screen was installed in 1892/3 (CHCC NADFAS 1998: 316). Active concepts of chancel and nave as two separate spaces in this building remained unchanged throughout the *longue durée*. The regional variations noted (Table 19) suggested Church authorities allowed communities to contribute actively in deciding if chancels were divided materially from naves, and how, implying official perceptions of the liturgical insignificance of this division. Maybe this was a management tactic meant to reassure parishioners of

their involvement in decision-making at a time when the clergy actively imposed other material changes they considered more significant.

Table 19:



Altar rails

One of the central tenets of Laudian reform programmes was removal of communion tables from what the Archbishop perceived as their unsanctified position in the naves, to the chancels, so they could be railed. Hierarchical concerns about misuse were probably justified. In 1617 a man was imprisoned for three days for 'leaning on the communion table' in Kirk Malew (MNH EPR).

The tensions that took place in England between Archbishop Laud and his supporters who wanted static altars situated at east ends, and those that wanted them to be portable or in the nave (Underdown 1992: 174; Fincham 2003: 29-44) occurred in Man too. The clerk at Kirk Michael near Ballaugh refused to attend his minister in the chancel where divine service was read '[...] but would have the Communion

Table and the Bible removed down into the church, where he himself sayt, and there onlie he sayd he would doe and execute these services' (MNH EPR 1616).

The early modern provenance given to the rails at Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain and Trelystan (Silvester and Frost 1999) suggested that despite Laud's prescriptive edicts not everyone complied (Table 20). Surely there were perceptions that there was little point installing rails if a chancel screen still existed, as in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain until 1727. This implied that the rail there dated from after 1727 even though in modern times it was not unusual to have both.

The date the Trelystan screen was removed was less certain so did not help date the rails in that building. However, those arrangements enclosing three sides of the altar were an early form disliked by Laud, which suggested installation either before 1633 when he became archbishop, or after 1660 when the rules were less prescriptive (Fincham 2003: 37). If the former, no changes were made to those arrangements during the Civil War or Commonwealth periods even though in the remote rural English village of Myddle, the rails which also encompassed the communion table on three sides, were removed during the Civil War (Gough 1702: 79). Fincham also noted associated iconoclasm when Charles I was deposed (2003: 31) but that was probably before 1645 because afterwards the *Directory for Publique Worship* which replaced the Book of Common Prayer in England prescribed that the Lord's Table be 'fenced' (Cuming 1969: 146). Possibly Trelystan's remote rural situation and its humble chapel-of-ease status saved it from the attentions of Laud or Puritan enthusiasts.

In Man, tables probably remained un-railed until after 1663. Bishop Barrow expressed concerns that the altars in Manx churches were not always respected and that they were being moved into the nave for celebrations of Holy Communion (MNH EPR 1663). His fears were vindicated. In Kirk Arbory near Castletown the possibility of those entering the chancel sitting on the altar or throwing their hats upon it was discussed in writing when the churchwardens reported the absence of an altar rail (ibid. 1665/6). This was soon rectified because in 1674 Reverend Parr buried his wife north of the altar and wrote in the margin of the register that he planned to be buried under the altar when his time came (MNH PR, Arbory), implying that by 1674 the churchwardens had obeyed episcopal prescriptions to ensure their altar was static, and therefore probably railed.

Table 20:

Altar rails: forms
(field visits; Stott 2009; photographs; floor plans; MNH DD box 56)

rails surrounding altar on 3 sides	**rails surrounding altar on 4 sides**	**probable short rail between box pews**	**long rail/rope across sanctuary**
Trelystan (from 17th c.)	1701 St Mary's Castletown (from 1705)	Llansantffraid (18th c. until 1893)	old Ballaugh (after 1849)
1826 St. Mary's		Malew (1665	Llansantffraid
Castletown (all periods)		(until 1961)	(after 1893)
		old Ballaugh (*c.* 1729-1832)	Leighton
		new Ballaugh (1832-1892/3)	Bwlch-y-cibau
			new Ballaugh (after 1892/3)

Officials at Kirk Malew probably removed their screen around 1639 (MNH EPR) so altar rails may have been installed there soon afterwards, although this seemed less likely in the context of Bishop Barrow's concerns that tables were being moved about (ibid. 1663). If rails had been installed soon after 1636 they were removed again, because around 1665 new altar rails were installed (ibid. 1665). In the contexts of those events and Fincham's comments that the installation of rails was encouraged in England after the 1660 Restoration (2003: 30) but not restored into a number of churches until the 1680s (ibid: 45), the implementation of those arrangements in Kirk Malew was early, perhaps because of the continued authority of the Manx ecclesiastical courts, and perpetuated related fairly-feudal social practices that ensured citizens obeyed edicts from authorities more unquestioningly than their English counterparts may have done.

After the civil unrest of the Commonwealth English ecclesiastical authorities moved cautiously with regard to imposing rules about specific positioning of altars and rails (Fincham 2003: 37). Perhaps this explained hierarchical acceptance of the unusual but not unique arrangement of four rails installed into the 1701 Castletown chapel in 1705 (Stott 2009). Little evidence was found that Kirk Malew was often active in influencing what happened in its Castletown chapels, so the form of the rails in the 1701 Castletown chapel probably were not modelled on arrangements installed a few years earlier in its mother church. The form of the 1665 rail arrangements in Kirk Malew has remained a mystery.

In Ballaugh parishioners must have dismantled any chancel screen in, or before 1717, when that building was extended eastwards. The enlarged church's first rail, or possibly a replacement, was installed before 1729, because Rector William Walker's will indicated that a rail was in use. He wanted to be buried under the chancel in old Ballaugh, west of the altar rails (MNH EPR 1729).

The post-Reformation use of altar rails from around the seventeenth century evidenced the efficacy of such arrangements in discouraging lay access to altar tables because parishioners could easily have disregarded their form and style. Continued use suggested successful resolution of post-Reformation tensions between clergy and parishioners when chancel screens were removed and that after Laud's unsuccessful efforts, even conservative ecclesiastical authorities were willing to compromise about the size and shape of spaces that the laity should be discouraged from entering. Surely rail activity was facilitated by passed-down traditionalism which perpetuated memories of the authority of medieval chancel screens and long, lay compliance with powerful clerical activities.

The installation of rails must have reflected use of static tables within them if only for logistical reasons. The lengths of rails, whatever the style of arrangements, implied corporate celebrations of the Last Supper. This fitted in with the relatively large number of chalices noted in use in Kirk Malew from the seventeenth century, which suggested that the whole congregation partook of wine during celebrations. Neither were the seating arrangements in the Ballaugh nave, organized from at least 1714 (Table 21), designed for private worship.

When services took place in natural or candle light it may have been easy for officials to portray non-structural separation of chancels and naves by the judicial placement of a large triple-decker pulpit centrally between the altar rail and the

Table 21:

old Ballaugh seat occupation 1714 – post-1849

(MNH PR, Register 1714; MNH EPR 1740; MNH DD box 96, 1832; field visits)

	1714 (2 rows of 9 pews)	**1740** (2 rows of 25 and 27 pews)	**1832** (2 rows of 27 and 2 of 26 pews)	**after 1849** (2 rows of initially-designated benches, probably all free after 1893)
south aisle				
1	Ballakoige	Ballakeoge	Ballakoig	-
2	Ballabeg & Ballakinnag	Ballabeg	Ballabeg	-
3	Glarik & Ballamona	Corvalley	Corvalley	-
4	Burghjeaig-more & Corvalley	Glack	Glaick	-
5	Ballacooley	Balla Moar	Ballamoar	-
6	Carbadal-Craine & Ballacain	Broogh Scarg Moar	Brough Jarg	-
7	Ballamoar, Carbadal of Cross & Gltrun	Dollagh	Dollagh Beg	-
8	Glen Dhoo & Knockar	Balna Cooilry	Ballacooilley	-
9	Foresters Lodge & Girandull Miln	Carmodal Moar	Carmodal Moar	-
10		Balla Caine	Ballacaine	-
11		Ballnethoar	Ballathoar	-
12		Carmodal	Carmodal Beg	-
13		Gliondoo	Glendoo	-
14		Knorhan	Knockan	-
15		Balla Kinnag	Ballakinnag	-
16		Balla Kroge	Ballakeig	-
17		Broogh Jiarg Moar & Broogh Jiarg beg	Brough Jarg Moar & Beg	-
18		Scrondill Miln	Scrondill Mill	
19		Foresters	Forestry Lodge & intacks	
20		intacks	intacks	
21-22		Bishop	Bishop's domain	
23		Bishop	for use of the parish	
24		Ballakroge, Balla Moar, Robert Corlet	for use of the parish	
25		Thomas Heywood, Rector Bridson	for use of the parish	
26-27			intacks	
N aisle				
1	Ballamoney-more & Ballathoar	Balna Moansh	Ballaneddin	-
2	Ballamoney beg & Broughjeaigbeg	Balna Moaney	Ballavolle y	-
3	Dollaughmoar	Dollagh Moar	Ballamona Moar	-
4	Ballavolley & Ballaneddin	Broogh Jiarg	Ballamona Beg	-
5	Ballary & Knockould	Balla Volly	Dollagh Moar	-
6	Squeen & Ballacrosahey	Balna Neddin	Brough Jarg Beg	-
7	Balletuson	Balla Cry	Ballacry	-
8	Balla Cain & Ballalorghey	Knock Old	Knockold	-
9	Glanshoggal & Ballacorraigei	Squeen	Squeen	-
10		Balna Crottey	Ballacrosha	-
11		Balla Forson Moar	Ballaterson Moar	-
12		Balla Forson beg	Ballaterson Beg	-
13		Balla Churn beg	Ballaourne Moar	-
14		Balla Churn & Balla Liarg	Ballaourne Beg	-
15		Ghion Shoggyl	Glenhaggle	-
16		Balla Corriag	Ballacorage	-
17		Ballna [...] & Craghyn	Ballatear & Craghyn	
18-26		intacks	intacks	
27		intacks	-	

congregational seating. The use of a single candle on the pulpit during evening or winter services would have obscured even a glimpse of the chancel from those sitting within the nave. At that time few were literate although those in prestigious pews may have had their own Bibles and candles, so there would have been no need for churchwardens to light anywhere except the pulpit. The clerk led services and his familiarity with responses and psalms would have meant that candlelight would have been sufficient for any references he had to make to his Prayer Book. Such anambiance could only have added to the mystique of early modern chancels, as must the infrequent celebrations Holy Communion (MNH VRs). Early-modern east windows were probably small so may not have highlighted altars significantly until enlarged and filled with stained glass in more modern times.

The ecclesiologist Neale aspired to reinstate a medieval model inside Anglican churches. He wrote that a building without a chancel was 'little better than a meeting-house' (Neale 1841: 5) but it was only from the eleventh century that sanctuaries were lengthened westwards to create chancels. Pre-medieval forms of churches distinguished sanctuaries for use by the clergy from nave for use by the laity (Kilde 2008: 72). Neale's ambitions went further than that. He wanted churches to be divided into a clearly distinguishable chancel and nave (Neale 1841: 5) although he knew those arrangements did not reflect the ancient Church. 'If old customs were kept as they ought to be, you [the parish clerk] would never be allowed to go within the Altar-rails: and this, I hope, may some day be the case again' (ibid. 1843b: 6).

A 1662 rubric requiring receipt of the Sacrament kneeling became defunct in 1846 (Bray 1998: 570, 571) but altar rails continued to organize access to sanctuaries. The rope rail installed across the sanctuary in old Ballaugh when it re-opened in 1849 was probably just as active, although it spoke of contemporary lack of financial resources and/or timber. So, shared perceptions of the meaning of forms overrode the style of arrangements or materials used in successfully designating sanctuaries as sacred. That rope remained in active use until the 1978 when it was replaced with the wooden altar rail from the recently closed Cronk-y-Voddy Chapel-of-ease (MNH DD, box 56).

Relationships between pulpits and altars

By around the middle of the nineteenth century the size of many pulpits had been reduced. They were placed less prominently than previously in many of the churches studied, in order for the altars to be seen more clearly from the naves. By 1892 short tables/altars had been replaced in most of the parish churches (Table 22). The enlarged altars installed then became more visible when one entered the nave.

Table 22:

Tables and altars: sizes used
(field visits; photographs)

unknown	**< 1.55 metres wide**	**> 1.55 metres wide**
medieval St Mary's	1701 St Mary's 1705-1811	Leighton, from 1853
old Ballaugh 1540-1892/3	Llansantffraid before 1892	Bwlch-y-cibau, from1864
Kirk Malew all dates	new Ballaugh 1832-1893	1826 St Mary's, after 1892
St Mark's all dates	Trelystan, from 1540	new Ballaugh, from 1892/3
1701 St Mary's 1811-1824	old Ballaugh, from 1892/3	Llansantffraid, from 1893
1826 St Mary's until 1892		

More general perceptions about the very formal division of chancel and nave probably changed once chancel screens were removed and the laity gained visual and physical access to what once lay eastwards. Installation of large triple-decker pulpits centrally at the division between chancel and nave as in the 1826 St Mary's Castletown and new Ballaugh in 1832 surely actively encouraged the laity to remain within each nave unless invited to do so by the clergy. Earlier pulpits located to one side of the nave, like in old Ballaugh and St Mark's must have been inactive in reminding parishioners that some spaces were to be regarded as sacred.

The removal of pulpits from central positions that hid chancels may have increased perceptions that chancels needed to be defined in other ways. At Leighton the narrow, high-ceilinged chancel was separated from the nave by a tall chancel arch that stretched from clerestory to ground level, perhaps illustrative of the considerable technical skills and related resources made available by its wealthy patron during its construction in the 1850s. The arrangements allowed full views of the grand architectural form and style of the chancel, nave, and contents that told more about Naylor's power as an agent than of faithfulness to ecclesiological tenets.

Ecclesiological ideas were installed more faithfully in Bwlch-y-cibau, which was also constructed with a chancel arch between 1862 and 1864. However, no attempt was made in either of these Welsh buildings to replicate medieval forms by filling these arches with screens.

The new approach in the use of architects in these two builds was adopted in Man too, in the new Castletown chapel built in 1826, and the church built in Ballaugh in 1832.

Despite the very different styles adopted, the initial internal arrangements between the chancels and naves in all these buildings did not evolve, but were planned. The austere Georgian arrangements perpetuated in the Castletown chapel in the context of the overly-enthusiastic ecclesiological style of the Leighton interior evidenced the very different actors involved, and the broad nature of Victorian Anglicanism.

Royal Arms

During Henry VIII's reign the religious hierarchy attempted to change congregational perceptions about Church governance by ordering that roods inside English churches be replaced by Royal Arms (Addleshaw and Etchells 1948: 35). Their activities were not always immediately successful. For instance, parishioners installed Arms into Holy Trinity in Dorchester considerably later, in 1616/17 (Underdown 1992: 40).

The Manx actively rejected centrally-prescribed edicts. Royal Arms were not installed into Manx parish churches until after the 1765 Revestment (Cubbon 1952: 231) when the Lordship of Man was transferred from the 3rd Duke of Atholl to the Crown. None were discovered in buildings that were not Crown livings. However,

the convention that Arms be displayed in parish churches rather than chapels-of-ease was challenged in the parish of Malew. The Castletown contingent of Malew parishioners installed George III's Arms into the Castletown chapel soon after 1765. That they were placed in 1701 St Mary's Castletown to defer to the Crown as new Lord of Man, instead of into the parish church of Kirk Malew, suggested the chapel-of-ease was perceived as having precedence over its mother church. It may have been hoped that the new Lord of Man would be as active a patron as his forerunners in prioritizing the status of his chapel. The rapid deterioration of the building soon actively indicated that such hopes were in vain.

The dynamic response in Castletown to the change in Lordship of Man was not replicated elsewhere in the Island. The Arms displayed in St. Sanctain's Parish Church in Santan near Castletown, and in new Ballaugh that both referred to William IV, reflected later parochial activity. Although Arms were sometimes modified to display monarchical succession, the apparently comparatively late installation of Arms in the rural parish churches, and the retention of early-nineteenth-century examples, reflected congregational inactivity in the context of changes in the Lordship of Man.

Those who attended Kirk Malew did not challenge their fellow parishioners in Castletown. No evidence was found that Royal Arms were ever installed in Kirk Malew despite its status as parish church and Crown living. However, a surviving remnant of carved wood, clearly not *in situ*, depicting a small, simply-carved image of the Derby family's insignia of an eagle's claw, and another of the Island's symbolic three-legs-of-Man, noted by Feltham (1798: 263) 'underneath the gallery', and still displayed there, implied that civil authorities in Man had once actively tried to draw parishioners' attention to the secular nature of changes in the governance of the Manx Church, possibly as part of the entrance into the chancel. The motifs were carved within a larger form implying part of a door-frame or opening. A similarly shaped, but closed-up door-head was discovered in St Astall's Chapel in Chester Cathedral (field visit). Derby and Manx symbolism either side of a central entrance through the screen into the Kirk Malew chancel would have been visible to parishioners occupying the west end of the building, despite the small size of the motifs, and edifyingly active. Religious authorities who allowed their installation must have realized that illiterate members of the congregation would recognize these

unwritten references to the Derbys. Their presence inside the church inferred ecclesiastical authorities recognized the authority of the Lordship of Man, supported by the absence of Royal Arms inside Manx churches until 1765. The Derbys were Lords of Man for most periods between 1521 and 1735 (Kniveton 1977: 177). Display of Derby symbolism within Kirk Malew fitted in with its status as parish church to Castletown, where the Lord of Man's household was situated and the Insular government, Tynwald, met.

Even though there was always a post-Reformation chapel in Castletown with special relationships with Castle Rushen and Derby ruler-ship, officially each came under the care and governance of Kirk Malew, evidenced in related official ecclesiastical paperwork which was produced at Kirk Malew, but not at the Castletown chapels until 1787/8 when the first visitation took place there (Ralfe 1926: 16). Relationships between the Castletown chapels and their parish church may have been more conventional until around 1701, when a new chapel was built. From 1704 its condition far outstripped that of Kirk Malew until after 1765 (Stott 2009, MNH VRs 1719, 1743, 1748, 1754, 1757, 1766). Prior to 1702 Derby officials and the Castletown townspeople may have attended services at Kirk Malew sometimes. Many seventeenth century Castletown residents were baptised, married and buried there (MNH PR, Malew Mixed Registers).

The archway's simple form and style suggested that woodcarving was not a thriving Manx pastime. It may have been shaped out of a piece of driftwood. The immediate post-Reformation period was one when wood was scarce in the Island, evidenced materially in the use of stones to support seating inside Kirk Malew in 1698 (MNH EPR), and by the paucity of early-modern wood within Manx churches. The age and source of the wood could not be discovered without resort to dendrochronology studies which were beyond the resources available for this project. Anyway, results may have been inconclusive if the wood was from a Manx source, because of the lack of a complete dendrochonological record for the Island.

Roofs

Chancels were sometimes delineated at ceiling level. It is unknown what the roof at Trelystan was like in medieval times but there was 'no cieling' [*sic*] in 1792 (SA VR), so this was not an ecclesiological feature. The medieval beams and open roof

may never have been hidden from view, perhaps because its chapel-of-ease status was perceived of low priority, or because the building was remote, and resources to install a ceiling scarce. Transport of materials over 'uneven ground' (ibid.) would have been another difficulty. The building was a simple wooden structure until 1856 (Silvester and Frost 1999: 1). 'No inhabitants of superior ranks' attended services (SA VR 1792), which must have constrained access to funding. The absence of earlier visitation documentation implied hierarchical perceptions that this community was relatively insignificant. Only the nave furnishings and the east window were replaced in 1856, largely funded by incomer Naylor who focused instead on building a new church in Leighton. Although around 1800 the Trelystan congregation numbered 320 (ibid.), they were never able to raise the funds necessary to renovate the chancel. The low status of their curate clergy surely contributed to continued use of more traditional arrangements in that *locale*. The curate's and congregation's lack of activity, confined by their shared low social and economic capital, was visible in the material culture inside this building (field visit).

The old Ballaugh roof that dated from 1849 (MNH DD, box 96) was likely to have been open since then. The eclectic style of furnishings and rope rail reflected lack of funding when this building was reopened for services in 1849. No nail marks were visible on the underside of the cross beams to denote the presence of an early ceiling. Although this seemed an unusually-modern feature inside a building where most arrangements were very traditional, as in Trelystan congregational activity was apparently limited by economic factors. By 1849 the Manx ecclesiastical hierarchy must have been aware of the new ecclesiological style. The roof in the new Ballaugh church built in 1832 was always open. Chancel was only defined from nave by colour at this height, implying that those involved did not consider form, or material delineation of chancel at roof level, as critical.

In contrast the over-enthusiastic exaggerated gothic-revivalist ideas expressed in Leighton where nave and chancel were clearly delineated were probably more about Naylor's active display of his capital status than about ecclesiological paradigms that sought to differentiate those *locales* materially.

Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain's roof was never opened up despite the more generally correct ecclesiological style of other arrangements that clearly-differentiated chancel and nave. This division was also expressed in the ceiling. The suggestion was of a community that actively respected long passed-on memories.

This was also articulated in the retention of a number of old features like memorial plaques, and the names of early modern pew holders were retained and maintained. The activities of local agents with access to relevant resources were evident in the many high quality additions, renovations, and Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain's large size. All probably mirrored a healthy local economy during the whole of the period studied.

A plaque in Kirk Malew recorded that the roof there was only opened-up in 1929 (field visit), long after limited ecclesiological changes were made. The late removal of the ceiling destroyed definition of chancel and nave at that level and implied a generally shared, and continued, conservative paradigm. The late date probably also reflected withdrawal of economic support from local businessmen once they purchased pews in the new chapel-of-ease that opened in Castletown in 1826.

Floors

Ecclesiatical authorities acted as agents in designating material activity by prescribing the condition, level and composition of floors, and delegating responsibility for maintenance of the separate spaces suggested. The Cambridge Camden Society thought chancel and nave floor at the same level represented Puritan paradigms (Neale 1843a: 26).

Neither chancel nor nave floors of Kirk Malew were flagged in 1665 (MNH EPR), so the earth floors were probably at the same level. In the context of burials within both *locales*, it seemed more likely that this had long been the situation than that earlier floors had been removed and the floors levelled during the Commonwealth. Prior to 1649 earth floors in chancels and naves probably reflected a combination of local economic circumstances, puritan ideas, and practicality for burials inside buildings. Bishop Barrow distinguished between the Kirk Malew chancel and nave when ordering the parson to flag the chancel floor (ibid.). Clearly he perceived responsibility for the two spaces as separate too. Either the allocated task was not carried out to a high standard or burials took place under the new floor. In 1758 it was still 'ragged and uneven' (MNH VR), so probably remained at the same level as the nave floor despite the continued focus by authorities on this feature, that indicated persistent hierarchical enthusiasm for the chancel floor to

reflect the sanctity and separateness of this *locale*. However, either successive incumbents did not have access to appropriate resources to fulfil hierarchical expectations, perhaps reflecting their reliance on the Lord of Man's generosity, as impropriator, for their stipend, or actively avoided complying.

At the 1765 Revestment when the Island was sold to England, Castletown's economy collapsed. The condition of the Castletown chapel deteriorated (MNH *c.* 1998) when the Lord of Man's patronage of chancel and nave was withdrawn and transferred to the Crown, which remained inactive. Neither did the townspeople embrace more conventional congregational responsibility for the nave, probably reflecting collective lack of self-confidence, absence of strong lay ecclesiastical officials to direct activities and withdrawal of economic resources. Maintenance jobs many townspeople had enjoyed between 1705 and 1765 (Stott 2009) ceased abruptly.

Consequentially Kirk Malew regained its authority as parish church for a time. In 1780 parochial funding was redirected towards replacement of the old chancel (MNH EPR 1767; MNH VRs 1766, 1782), albeit at the same floor level as the nave (field visit). Apparently when ecclesiological changes were made at the end of the nineteenth century the Malew congregation successfully argued their case that this puritan value should prevail.

Other communities may have lacked the resources to make the recommended modifications (Table 23). For instance the Trelystan chancel floor was not raised when that interior was renovated in 1856. Definition of the chancel at floor level with inscribed gravestones that contrasted with the plain slabs in the nave did not reflect ecclesiological ideas faithfully but were probably all that lay within that congregation's or its curate's means at the time. Whether the new arrangements reflected shared witting puritan paradigms or the community's relative isolation and lack of access to funding remained unclear. It seemed that in 1856 more emphasis was put on ensuring people had access to services locally than on replicating fashion statements from England and that this was acceptable to whoever granted the prerequisite Faculty to renovate this chapel. Contemporary maintenance to the chapel's structure (PR, Leighton 1856) implied that previously its condition had deteriorated markedly, probably because of lack of local patronage, as noted more than half a century earlier (SA VR 1792).

The Cambridge Camden Society wanted congregations to focus on altars. This implication of emphasizing altars rather than just the chancel as an especially sanctified place where the laity, including parish clerks, were to be discouraged from entering (Neale 1843b: 6) was evidenced in the continued presence of altar rails and that raised sanctuary floors were sometimes decorated differently from other chancel flooring.

This was visible in new Ballaugh, where a new tile pavement was laid in the sanctuary in 1892 (IOM Times 1893).

In Leighton the sanctuary floor was covered with 'super-fine quality' tiles donated by Minton (Anton-Stephens 1993: 10). The latter also implied the gratefulness of the Minton management for the size of a commission that included enough tiles to cover the whole chancel and nave floors. However, both Leighton floors were so similarly tiled as to make any material activity that might have suggested a difference between *locales* too subtle for anyone except a tile expert to interpret.

The installation of encaustic floor tiles in chancels but not in naves encouraged by the Camden Society to emphasize the precedence of those *locales* was only evident in new Ballaugh and Bwlch-y-cibau, so was not widely adopted in the churches and chapels studied (Table 24), although in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain the chancel floor was covered in marble *c.* 1892 to replicate an earlier Wren London fashion. This floor actively relayed the same message, as well as reflecting the considerable economic resources available to this community.

In all the Manx buildings considered, the chancel floors remained level with those in their naves. In both Ballaugh churches pulpit and lectern lay well within each chancel from at least the end of the nineteenth century. When choir stalls were installed around 1920 into 1826 St Mary's Castletown, they lay west of the pulpit. Most material activity in telling Manx congregations to consider a particular space as sacred was at the sanctuary arch in new Ballaugh and St Mark's, and at the raised altar rails in old Ballaugh and 1832 St Mary's Castletown.

In Kirk Malew, where the chancel was filled with box pews and the nave and north transept with long pews, definition of the chancel was clearer in the seating arrangements, which were surely more active in teaching those present of perpetuated social differences than of a changed liturgical focus. Taken together, variations of arrangements noted reflected the broadness of Anglican governance in

Table 23:

Chancel floors: levels (field visits; photographs)

chancel floor raised	chancel floor level with nave	unknown
Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain	old Ballaugh	medieval St Mary's Castletown
Bwlch-y-cibau	Malew	1701 St Mary's Castletown
Leighton	Trelystan	
St Mark's	1826 St Mary's Castletown	
	new Ballaugh	

Table 24:

Chancels and naves: definition by floor covering
(field visits; photographs)

Chancel and nave easily distinguishable	Chancel and nave floors similar	Unknown
Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain	old Ballaugh	medieval St Mary's Castletown
Bwlch-y-cibau	Kirk Malew	1701 St Mary's Castletown
Trelystan	St Mark's	
new Ballaugh	1826 St Mary's	
	Castletown	
	Leighton	

Man, and empathy by the officials involved in granting related Faculties, for local puritan leanings.

The vast majority of sanctuary floors were raised (Table 25). No material evidence was found that the sanctity of sanctuaries had ever been unacknowledged. Once centrally-placed triple-decker pulpits were abandoned in the Manx churches and chapels, the *locale* of sanctuary was given precedence over chancel, but the remainder of the chancel given little over the nave. This reflected the mildly-dissident congregational activity permitted within the Manx Church when the Island was excluded from the requirements of the 1662 Parliamentary Act of Uniformity.

In contrast, the stronger delineation of chancel and nave noted in the Welsh churches studied actively echoed the enactment of said Act. So, although the arrangements in the churches of both regions endorsed English conventions, subtle material variations that reflected more local religious practices seemed acceptable to Anglican officials.

Table 25:

Sanctuaries: floor levels

(field visits; photographs)

raised floor	**level with nave**	**unknown**
Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain	-	medieval St Mary's Castletown
old Ballaugh		1701 St Mary's Castletown
Kirk Malew		
Trelystan		
St Mark's		
1826 St Mary's Castletown		
new Ballaugh		
Leighton		
Bwlch-y-cibau		

Windows

East windows were often deliberately grander than those in the nave, actively drawing the eye towards chancel and sanctuary. However, this was not universal practice.

The classical arch of coloured but otherwise very plain glass in the east gable of old Ballaugh contrasted with the plain nave lancets. Similarly-sized and shaped nave windows installed in new Ballaugh were filled with stained glass towards the end of the nineteenth century. These additions blurred definition of the east end and told viewers more about prestigious members of the congregation.

1826 St Mary's Castletown was constructed without an east window and all the nave windows were plain, probably reflecting the number of newly arrived members of the congregation, and the fluidity of that commercial cohort. They had lived in Castletown for such a short time there had been few occasions for memorial activity. A plain east window facing the Castletown slums was also apparently deemed inappropriate. Clearly, awareness of social inequalities impacted more strongly onto nineteenth-century minds than onto earlier ones. The glazed east gable of the 1701 chapel had once faced the same poor streets, although it was probably plain, because the chapel's position on the seashore made it vulnerable to storms. Several windows were replaced between 1712 and 1733 as a result of weather damage, and the chancel window 'blown out' during a storm in 1737 (Stott 2009). The absence of any mention of stained glass in the very detailed eighteenth-century accounts in the CRP strongly implied its nonexistence.

In contrast, and much later, both the Leighton chancel and nave were filled with the highest-quality stained glass in huge windows throughout, reflecting Naylor family wealth but inactive in telling those present about the especial sanctity of the chancel.

The more general convention, which seemed to have been shared in Man and mid-Wales, was for the east window to be significantly different in composition, size and style to those in the nave, thus signalling to congregations the distinctive nature of the east end. However, the broad nature of the Anglican Church and variations in local activity were revealed in the assortment of styles which were accepted by ecclesiastical authorities.

In St Mark's the large, plain, classical east window that contrasted with the plain nave lancets was the only one later filled with high quality stained glass in 1899 (inscription). Initially that glass appeared to reflect ecclesiological ideas but it commemorated an esteemed former chaplain, so probably had more to do with the family involved than with devotional ideas.

In Trelystan the painted Gothic east window installed was striking in size, shape and colour compared with the small, plain, rectangular nave windows which replaced unknown older glass in the twentieth century (plaque). This east window, made and painted in a rustic style, reflected the rural style of this building's other features but dramatically fulfilled ecclesiological aims that on entry the eye be immediately drawn towards the east end of the building.

The east window in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain did this too, but in a very different way. The window opening in the east gable there was enlarged and filled with high quality Victorian glass in 1892/3 reflective of this parish's apparent access to considerably more resources. In this building the nave windows were of retained, earlier, finely stained and painted, glass. This implied long economic stability, the quality and size of the east window possibly representing local enthusiasm for ecclesiological ideas, and/or actively expressed local pride and wealth.

Although in Kirk Malew the small east window filled with Georgian glass that contrasted markedly with the Victorian glass in the nave reflected the conservative nature of this congregation it was just as active in focusing the eye onto that east end.

To conclude, the window glass used in the chancels and naves studied did not always actively teach congregations that chancels were more special places than naves. Variations reflected parochial, not wider, regional differences and/or Anglican values.

Sizes of chancels and naves

The Cambridge Camden Society actively prescribed the relative sizes of chancels and naves (Neale 1841: 6), but the material culture found suggested that this was not always perceived as liturgically significant by ecclesiastical authorities. Population increases in all the parishes studied (Table 14) were dealt with before the nineteenth century in all churches and chapels bar one by increasing seating capacity (Table

15). Only in Trelystan was no evidence found of the provision additional floor space for seating being. The west boundary of the short chancel, that may have reflected the dearth of gentry in the village (SA VR 1792), may have been moved eastwards when more free seating was required in 1856, surely a relatively easy, cost-effective solution when the screen already lay behind the altar-table. Especially in the absence of gentry, who might have been persuaded to contribute to more ambitious building schemes, but objected to an invasion of prestigious chancel space by the local farmers. Evidence of early-modern seating which did not define sizes, and an absence of seating plans, made it impossible to make comparisons between early and late seating arrangements in this building. But in the context of pre-1853 documentation which gave equal precedence to the two townships of Trelystan and Leighton during all the years when the two shared this chapel, the premise was that about half stopped doing so in 1853 when Leighton Chapel came into use.

The unusually short Trelystan chancel delineated by the re-installation of the screen in 1856 and the number of benches in the nave implied a once large congregation. That no-one chose to re-position the screen again as attendance as the Trelystan congregation dwindled indicated continued constrained access to resources, and shared perceptions that relationships between this chancel and nave in terms of size was insignificant liturgically.

Conclusions

Consideration of the material culture at the junction of chancel and nave within the medieval churches and chapels studied suggested that at the Reformation arrangements were similar in form, style and position in Wales and Man. Consequently, their relative isolation from central supervision resulted in material changes that did not always conform entirely with English edicts or fashions, despite the appointment of English Bishops during the early-modern period in both regions. When arrangements were modified, this was often later than the sources suggested similar events took place in England.

In the Ballaugh and Malew churches and chapels-of-ease delineation between chancels and naves became and remained less defined than elsewhere, perhaps reflecting congregational puritan activity. Although Yates et al. did not consider this material feature he agreed that Methodism as a ‘pressure group’ within the Manx

Anglican Church was accepted, even sometimes encouraged (forthcoming: 29). As a consequence, intersections between chancels and naves probably became less active in reminding members of congregations how ecclesiastical authorities expected them to behave differently within each *locale* and/or towards the clergy.

Although the clearer definition of the nineteenth-century Welsh chancels studied may have been related to their proximity to the English border or to English immigration, it seemed that even Manx communities that were closely involved with the English, like that in Castletown, were unwilling to accept English innovations. The chancel in the 1826 building was never expressed materially as separate from nave. Traditional arrangements were perpetuated in Manx rural parishes even in new buildings despite the 1879 Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act that required Manx churches [naves] and chancels to be insured separately (Kermode et al. 1877-1934: 167). The convention of incomplete ecclesiological arrangements may have been economically determined, and English episcopal activity diluted, in the context of a number of short episcopal tenures. It may also have reflected the small size of the diocese and its low population that allowed for familiarity with, and access to, religious and secular authorities that may have been impossible elsewhere. Alternatively the long-held apparent lack of regional perception of large social differences between clergy and parishioners related to *habitus* and the appointment of non-graduate clergymen in early modern times when most residents did not speak English may have been influential. The graduate status of most Manx clergy from the middle of the nineteenth century and their exposure to ecclesiological arrangements whilst at university was not strongly visible in the Manx churches and chapels-of-ease studied, perhaps evidence that some rural communities remained relatively isolated well into the twentieth century and that the key actors involved were the parishioners. Not unexpectedly, material arrangements in the 1826 Castletown chapel continued to challenge all the rules, evidence of continued shared perceptions of its special status as government chapel even though, by the end of the nineteenth century, this had been eroded by the transfer of Castletown's capital status and Tynwald sessions to Douglas.

The informality in Man in distinction of chancels from naves studied suggested acceptance by officials of the non-theological significance of chancel screens, floor levels and surface finishes which instead reflected local access to resources and, from the nineteenth century, changed relationships between church

officials and parishioners, who became more active once devotional choices became available by the acceptance of Nonconformism.

This fitted in with the apparent irrelevance of the position of other nonetheless liturgically important furnishings like the font which was positioned in various locations at various times in the churches and chapels studied. In Man this convention seemed to include the positions of their pulpits and lecterns within their chancels since the nineteenth century, which were located within the naves of all the Welsh churches studied.

In every Manx building considered, the meanings of the material arrangements at the boundary between chancel and nave were ambiguous in one respect or another for at least some part of the time period considered. On the other hand, the logistics involved in the management of maintenance of Anglican building clearly necessitated the continued definition of chancel from nave. In 1841 Neale stated that 'there are two parts, and only two parts which are absolutely essential to a church – chancel and nave' (1841: 5). Official terminology did reflect this distinction. Neale wrote to churchwardens that 'if old customs were kept up as they ought to be, you would never be allowed to go within the altar-rails: and this, I hope, may some day be the case again' (ibid. 1843: 6).

Delineation of chancel and sanctuary at the altar rail which was visible in all the Manx churches and chapels-of-ease investigated strongly reflected such ideas which may have been why authorities compromised about lack of clarity at chancel/nave level. The structurally separate east apses in St Mark's Chapel and new Ballaugh Church expressed continued shared perceptions of the sanctuary as the most sacred *locale*. Even in old Ballaugh where the chancel was completely undefined materially from 1849, the sanctuary was raised and defined at the altar rope. By the end of the eighteenth century in some Manx parishes perceptions of material as active in discouraging lay entry had moved eastwards from the transition of chancel to nave to that between west chancel and sanctuary. Partial acceptance of Neale's second statement above was evident in the numbers of altar rails in continued use even within churches with clearly defined chancels, as was the successful activity of those structures. The regional and time-related variations noted confirmed that it was the spaces rather than screens that continued to be perceived as liturgically significant and relevant for administrative purposes, evidenced in continued references to chancel and nave separately in official

documentation. But the material considered revealed that ecclesiological attempts to re-emphasize the distinction of chancel and nave were at least partially unsuccessful in Man. Rather Archbishop Laud's enthusiasm for the use of altar rails was widely successful in allocating devotionally-relevant meaning to an ecclesiastical fitting that has remained active at the sanctuary step in the form of a raised and gated but low altar-rail for over three-hundred years in reminding those present of the sacred nature of what lay to the east.

Ideas displayed deliberately in liturgical arrangements meant to direct those present about what was expected of them did not always reflect what actually happened. This was a wider phenomenon (Graves 2000: 8; Masinton 2006: 36).

The Leighton arrangements exemplified church authorities bowing to generous Naylor funding and turning a blind eye to ecclesiologically incorrect installations that distorted the material activity of that chancel and nave and their contents. The consequences were that John Naylor's activities went largely un-checked and his tenants were taught their social place and how much they relied on him for their livelihoods rather than of the relative sanctity of the Leighton chancel or indeed its sanctuary.

Yates noted that the nineteenth-century 'ecclesiological revolution' moved slowly (2008: 114). This was supported by material changes made in the parishes studied and was especially evident in the rural buildings investigated where renovations were almost universally late and incomplete. Only the Bwlch-y-cibau church was built with chancel clearly marked as separate from nave in roof, walls, floor level and coverings, and furnishings. Even in urban Llansantffriad-ym-Mechain, which was eventually renovated enthusiastically and thoroughly, traditional arrangements were not changed until 1892.

In Castletown the traditional liturgical arrangements inside 1826 St Mary's were retained well into the twentieth century. Although this implied entrenched lay reluctance to change, perhaps facilitated by shared perceptions that this chapel had a special relationship with Manx civil governance, it also reflected compromise on the part of church officials.

Jackson recognized that local cultures persist, whatever the consumption of ideas and materials imposed from or sourced elsewhere (2004: 166-175). In that context the Manx arrangements were unremarkable. The number of variations noted seemed strong evidence of the long broadness of Anglican governance and that this

hierarchical strategy represented successful official action rather than inaction. After all the Anglican Church remained established within England, Wales and Man until 1920. Although the most central theological concepts prescribed were reflected materially in all the buildings, variations in the forms of individual items and how spaces were arranged had clearly long been negotiable. All reflected intention on the part of individuals or groups that others should interact with those materials and how they were arranged. The focus of this research on periods of change confirmed the transience of all activities, systems and outcomes and highlighted the cyclical nature of change.

Eighteenth-century Manx law did not allow for the expression of Nonconformism outside the established Church nor did missionary Nonconformists become involved in Man until towards the end of the century, once English had become more widely spoken in rural districts. However, the material arrangements inside Manx churches and chapels-of-ease which separated sanctuary from chancel more distinctly than chancel from nave revealed that the Manx were well aware of the acceptance of Nonconformism in England, that they liked some of the ideas expressed, which fitted in with local low-church paradigms, and that this was not incompatible with Anglican theology. So, even though formal Nonconformism came later to Man than to England or Wales, the material culture inside its churches and chapels-of-ease reflected what was happening in eighteenth-century England. Ambivalence between chancel and nave may have been a regionally specific material variation but it actually revealed close links between Manx, English and Welsh communities. The following chapter discusses evidence of those links in chancel furnishings.

Chapter V

Chancel Furnishings

Consideration of 'portable artefacts' can contribute to an understanding of the past (Mytum 2010c: 294)

The previous chapter argued that the material culture actively tells users that chancels have a significance that naves do not. Theological rules have governed the intended purpose of these spaces, although human actors furnished them to reflect the cyclical events taking place within this *locale*. Accumulation of furniture was constrained by geographical variations in access to materials and other resources at different times. Although the post-processual approach this research adopted accepted the activity of the forms of material culture and spaces in place, it was really how they were perceived that imparted such activity. Key to this project was awareness that interpretation of rules, and resources available to implement devotional tenets at various times and in different regions, have always been temporary. However, materials could not tell much about how they were formed or used if contexts were unknown (Johnson 2005: 136). The official processes involved when changes were made produced much documentary evidence of human and consequent material activity. Perceptions as part of personal and institutional *habitus*, material activity and meanings were often modified when contexts changed.

Medieval chancel spaces, from which the laity was generally excluded, were designed to house altars which were the focus of sacrificial celebrations of the mass. Catholic altars were highly decorated with textiles, candles, crucifixes and plate made from precious materials. Duffy wrote about the sale of redundant altar hangings and frontals in 1550 and 1553 (2005: 486, 490, 491) and of other materials during Edward VI's reign. Altars were replaced by tables from 1550 (ibid: 472), the materials used became simpler in style, and celebrations commemorative. This chapter has considered selected characteristics of altars and tables as well as the material culture used on such post-Reformation structures for evidence of human perceptions of meaning, subsequent interactivity and changing social relationships between those participating in related liturgies. The value of altar furniture as a

source was diminished because it could never be discovered *in situ.* Although dated dedicatory inscriptions were strong evidence of intention, Jones (1911: xxx) listed more than one piece of communion plate being used in a chancel where its use had never been intended by its donor. Nonetheless other sources provided useful evidence and clues about how, where, when and why chancel furnishing may have been used in the past.

Positions of tables and altars

Although the Wedderburn revision of the 1549 Prayer Book advised tables should be 'at the upper end of the chancel' (Cuming 1969: 152), when Venetian Ambassador Giacomo Soranzo visited England in 1554 he wrote of a Communion service where 'in the place where the choir used to be they had a table [...] making the communicants kneel round it' (Addleshaw 1948: 28). By 1561 stalls had been placed in the chancels of some English churches for communicants (Cuming 1969: 127). In 1640 Laud prescribed that tables be placed altar-wise against the east wall (ibid: 142). Nevertheless by 1700 'plenty of [English] churches still retained un-railed tables placed lengthways in the lower cancel or nave' (Fincham and Tyacke 2007: 351). The Communion table in Holy Trinity Church in Dorchester still stood 'in the nave, not turned altar-wise in the popish fashion' at this time (Underdown 1992: 39).

The first evidence of the use of static altars in Manx churches dated from 1665, which reflected Bishop Barrow's orders to his clergy to 'make it your business [...] ye churches repaired, ye Communion table only placed at ye East end, wth carpets on them, [...] & all[...] seats as are aboute ye table, or may [...] ye oft these to be performed; removed [...]' (MNH EPR 1663) which implied that previously tables inside Manx churches had been moved about to accommodate the different liturgies performed. Certainly after 1665 and the installation of altar rails, the convention of a static table against the east gable was the norm in Manx churches, although that had not always been the case (Table 26). The 1832 floor plan of both Ballaugh churches showed a large rectangular altar or table lying centrally against each east gable. The altar installed in the 1826 Castletown chapel in 1890 was definitely designed for use against the east gable because the marks of a previous retable were clearly visible on

Table 26:

Altars/tables: post-Reformation positions until 1925

against east gable	old Ballaugh, from before 1729 (MNH EPR 1729)
	new Ballaugh, from 1832
	Bwlch-y-cibau, from1864
	Kirk Malew (only definitely from the 19th century (Figure 39))
	Leighton, from 1853
	Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (before and after 1892/3)
	St Mark's, from 1772
	1826 St Mary's Castletown, from 1826
	Trelystan from 17th c.
possibly not static	In Man, maybe widely between1649 and 1663 (MNH EPR 1663)
ordered away from east gable	1701 St Mary's Castletown 1705 (Stott 2009) until maybe 1811 when marble slab was replaced (Ralfe 1926: 20)
unknown	medieval St Mary's Castletown
	1701 St Mary's Castletown after 1811

its surface. It would have been difficult to officiate over the top of that structure which rose 170 mm above the surface of the altar (field visit).

Material and form of tables and altars

In the context of the wooden tables used in the majority Manx and the Welsh churches and chapels studied between 1634 and *c.* 1892, communion services were perceived as commemorative. Modifications made to arrangements from the 1840s to use of altars acknowledged the once central sacrificial nature of Catholic masses, although their construction from wood perpetuated Protestant paradigms. Despite the time-related trends revealed, the regional variations in materials, forms (Table

Table 27:

Altars and tables: materials and forms
(CHCC NADFAS Records; field visits; MNH VRs; Ralfe 1926; Stott 2009)

Wooden table	**Marble slab**	**Wooden altar**
K Malew 1634		
old Ballaugh (new 'table' 1757, probably another *c.* 1892/3 when new church acquired its altar)	1704 St Mary's Castletown (1704-1811)	
Trelystan (17th c.)		1826 St Mary's Castletown (from 1892)
Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain: ('table' (MNH VR 1806, L[L]GC Thomas))		Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (from 1892)
new Ballaugh: ('table' 1835)		new Ballaugh (from 1892/3)
		Leighton (from 1853)
Unknown wooden Form		Bwlch-y-cibau (from 1864)
1701 and 1826 Castletown chapels (1811-1892)		

27), and sizes (Table 22 on page 112) noted evidenced official acceptance of individual congregational activity and administrative recognition of the constraints imposed by inconsistencies in access to resources.

When Englishman Bishop Foster carried out his visitations in Man in 1634 he asked if tables were being used. It was unclear if he used this term generically or was trying to find out if Manx clergy were officiating at tables or altars. After all, the marble slab used in Castletown after 1704 was described as a table although traditionally that material represented sacrificial Sacraments. The vagueness within many written sources about the form of altars and tables was demonstrated again when Ralfe (1926: 33-34) wrote about the new 'altar-table' acquired for St. Mary's

Castletown, which surviving material revealed was a prism, therefore an altar, albeit of wood. His reference to this as an altar-table reflected shared Manx Protestant commemorative paradigms although he was writing about an item of furniture used in a Castletown chapel where previous use of a marble table once made that message less clear to participants. General use of ambiguous terms and forms reflected the broadness of Anglican worship. Even in 1559 Royal Injunctions stated variations were 'of no great moment' (Addleshaw and Etchells 1948: 33) and, despite the efforts of fanatics like Laud and Neale, the sources revealed continued use of generic terminology.

Identifying the actual forms of furniture from sources was problematical. New Ballaugh was furnished with a 'table' (MNH VR 1835). The possibility was that the terminology used was from a Protestant viewpoint rather than being purely descriptive. However, as the old church was furnished with an eclectic, worn mix of possible rejects from other buildings, the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century fashion had been for small tables, the new church was furnished with a new altar in 1893, and de-consecration of an altar-table was a time-consuming process, the table found in old Ballaugh was probably the one originally made for new Ballaugh after it opened in 1832. Besides which, in 1893 when Rector Kermode's family donated a new altar to new Ballaugh on his death, this was so soon after the new church opened in 1832 that, in the context of the stability shown in the Ballaugh seating plans (Table 28), the builder of the original table, or at least younger relatives, probably still attended church there. It was inconceivable that the new altar should be rejected because of the status of the donor family involved and because its form and larger size fitted in with the new ecclesiological ideas the Bishop encouraged parishioners to adopt at that time. An unidentified newspaper cutting dated January 1893 (Kermode et al: 75) stated 'His Lordship [...] maintained the church would look much handsomer with a middle aisle'. Transfer of the original small table to the old church probably offered an acceptable solution to all parties.

The forms of the two pieces of furniture contrasted markedly. The old table was home-made, albeit skilfully, from re-used timber. Its professionally-made replacement constructed for the purpose for which it was intended was imported from England (Figure 28). The new altar reflected the high economic and social capital of the Kermode family but also nineteenth-century technical changes that facilitated the acquisition of a piece of furniture manufactured in an English factory.

Table 28:

Ballaugh churches seat occupation 1830 (MNH DD)

old Ballaugh		new Ballaugh		
N **aisle**	S **aisle**	N **aisle**	**middle aisle**	S **aisle**
1 Ballaneddin	1 Ballakeig	1 Ballaneddin & fs	1 Ballaterson	1 Ballakeig
2 Ballavolley	2 Ballabeg	2 Ballavolley	2 Ballamoar	2 Ballabeg
3 Ballamona	3 Corvalley	3 Ballamona	3 Dollaingh	3 Corvalley
4 Ballamona	4 Glaick	4 Ballamona	4 Ballacooilley	4 Glaick
5 Dollaugh	5 Ballamoar	5 Brough Jarg	5 Cronkold	5 Brough Jarg
6 Brough Jarg	6 Brough Jarg	6 Ballacry	6 Ballathoar	6 Dollaugh
7 Ballacry	7 Dollaugh	7 Squeen	7 Ballaterson	7 Carmodal
8 Knockold	8 Ballacooilley	8 Ballacrosha	8 Knockan	8 Ballacraine
9 Squeen	9 Carmodal	9 Ballacurne	9 Glensheggil	9 Carmodal
10 Ballacrosha	10 Ballacraine	10 Ballacurn	10 Brough Jarg	10 Glendoo
11 Ballaterson	11 Ballathoar	11 Ballacorage	11 intacks	11 Ballakinnag
12 Ballaterson	12 Carmodal	12 Ballatear	12 intacks	12 Ballakeig
13 Ballacurne	13 Glendoo	13 intacks	13 intacks	13 Scrondill Mill
14 Ballacurne	14 Knockan	14 intacks	14 intacks	14 Forestry Lodge
15 Glensheggel	15 Ballakinnag	15 intacks		15 Bishop's Domain
16 Ballacorage	16 Ballakeig	16 intacks		16 Bishop's Domain
17 Ballatear & Cranghyn	17 Brough Jarg	17 intacks		17 intacks
18 intacks	18 Scrondill Mill	18 free seat		18 free seat
19 intacks	19 Forestry Lodge			
20 intacks	20 intacks			
21 intacks	21 Bishop's Domain			
22 intacks	22 Bishop's Domain			
23 intacks	23 use of parish			
24 intacks	24 use of parish			
25 intacks	25 use of parish			
26 intacks	26 intacks			
	27 intacks			

Use of altar candles and crosses

After the Reformation some English parishes stopped using altar candles or crosses, probably either because they had been seized, sold (Duffy 2005: 489), or were perceived as Catholic and idolatrous.

Similar activities took place in Man. In 1634 the Kirk Malew churchwardens certified that they no longer burnt candles or worshipped crosses (MNH VR), implying these past practices were still fresh memories.

By the seventeenth century the English churches over which Bishop Andrewes had influence did use lighted candles on their altars (Addleshaw 1941: 54-57, 77). He supported Laudian ideas.

No evidence was found to suggest their post-Reformation use in any of the Manx buildings studied until 1844 when Mrs Quilliam, widow of Captain Quilliam who had been Nelson's Lieutenant at Trafalgar, donated a pair of silver candlesticks to the 1826 Castletown chapel 'for use of the said chapel for ever.' Perhaps more surprisingly in the context of long retention of traditional liturgical arrangements in the 1826 Castletown chapel was that neither clergy nor congregation objected to complying with a practice that was not yet the convention in any of the other Manx churches studied (Table 29). The material of the candlesticks given in 1844 hinted why this might have been so. They were the only silver candlesticks discovered (Table 30). Acceptance and enthusiasm to display the ornate silver publically may have been related to shared perceptions of Captain Quilliam's high social status and vicarious enjoyment of his association with the Island. The interval between the maker's date 1770/1 and donation of this gift implied they were once used as domestic items in his home. Perhaps their use within the chapel actively made the point about his social worth to the large numbers of immigrants that attended services in the Castletown chapel, as recorded in the 1826 seating plan of that building. Many of the names were not Manx. These candlesticks were so flamboyant as to suggest perceptions of Catholic practice but apparently their style was ignored in favour of shared deference to a prestigious family that overcame the more prevalent low-church paradigm evident in the relatively austere interior of the *locale* in which they were used. No altar cross was used in this building until after 1896, so the congregation had not embraced ecclesiological ideas in 1843 when apparently they started using Mrs Quilliam's candlesticks.

Table 29:

Altar candles: first post-Reformation use

c. 1844	1826 St Mary's Castletown (Thompson 1964: 21)
unknown 19th c. date	Trelystan (CHCC NADFAS 1991: 106)
last quarter 19th c.	Leighton (ibid. 2003/4: 110)
1889	Bwlch-y-cibau (ibid. 2007: 109)
before 1892/3	Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain ($L^{L}GC$, Thomas)
1925	new Ballaugh (inscription)
after 1930	Kirk Malew (inscription)
1960	old Ballaugh (MNH MCM June 1960: 14)
1987	St Mark's (PR, Malew PCC minutes 1987)
unknown	medieval St Mary's Castletown
	1701 St Mary's Castletown

Table 30:

Altar candlesticks: materials used
(field visits)

Silver	1826 St Mary's Castletown
Brass	old Ballaugh
	new Ballaugh
	Kirk Malew
	Leighton
	St Mark's
	Trelystan
	Bwlch-y-cibau
	Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain

By the end of the nineteenth century about 25% of English churches were using lighted candles on their altars (Yates 2008: 120) as advocated by the Tractarians (Addleshaw 1941: 112-113). This practice was embraced in 100% of the Welsh churches and chapels-of-ease studied before the end of the nineteenth century although this apparent enthusiasm may not have been representative because of the small number of buildings considered.

The 80% of the Manx churches and chapels-of-ease in which altar candles were not used until after 1925 matched Addleshaw's statement more closely, but the very late acquisition of candlesticks in the second half of the twentieth century in old Ballaugh and St Mark's may have been more unusual, perhaps reflecting shared retained puritan paradigms or just that limited finances were directed elsewhere. The composition and condition of the present material culture inside old Ballaugh implied that parochial funding focused onto the new parish church after 1832 and at St Mark's most of the rural congregation did not enjoy high economic capital. Access to funding must often have been an issue, perhaps especially when trying to persuade those involved to accept what might have been perceived as unnecessary change.

Sources revealed that eight of the nine churches and chapels-of-ease that eventually did acquire a cross for use on their table or altar (Table 31) did not do so until after 1889. Surprisingly in the context of perpetuation of the very traditional liturgical arrangements inside their chapel, but less so in the context of use of altar candles from 1843, the Castletown congregation was the only Manx community noted to have accepted use of an altar cross before 1921. This suggested that the retention of long-established furnishing arrangements there had less to do with rejection of ecclesiological ideas than communal reiteration of perceptions that the Castletown Chapel, and by association that congregation, did not have to adhere to conventions practiced elsewhere. Apparent lack of wider enthusiasm for change was confirmed in the non-use of altar crosses in the other Manx buildings until well into the twentieth century which in the contexts of the late and incomplete ecclesiological changes often made in Manx churches suggested reluctance or at least cautiousness in adopting so overtly a Catholic convention.

Table 31:

Altar crosses: first post-Reformation use

1889	Bwlch-y-cibau (CHCC NADFAS 2007: 108)
last quarter of the 19th c.	Leighton (ibid. 2003/4: 110)
between 1896 and 1921	1826 St Mary's Castletown (Thompson 1964: 21)
1924	Trelystan (CHCC NADFAS 1991: 105)
1925	new Ballaugh (inscription)
1929	old Ballaugh (inscription)
1987	St Mark's (PR, Malew PCC minutes 1987)
unknown	Kirk Malew Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain
probable non-use	medieval St Mary's Castletown 1701 St Mary's Castletown

Table 32:

Altar crosses: styles used
(field visits)

Plain Latin Crosses	old Ballaugh (Figure 12) Kirk Malew (Figure 32b) Trelystan (Figure 47) St Mark's – plain Latin cross with splayed ends (Figure 72)
Decorated Latin Cross	new Ballaugh (Figure 93)
Ornate Latin Pommée Crosses	Bwlch-y-cibau (Figure 106b)
Ornate Latin Bottonée Crosses	Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (Figure 23b) Leighton (Figure 101)
Unknown	1826 St Mary's Castletown

This conservative paradigm may have been shared by the Trelystan congregation who did not acquire their altar cross until 1924, but apparently not by the other Welsh congregations considered. This seemed a little odd given that Trelystan was the first to be renovated ecclesiologically, but probably reflected lack of access to appropriate funding. Those 1856 renovations were financed by the patron of the newly built Leighton Chapel-of-ease, whose enthusiasm for ecclesiological features was very evident in Leighton. However, apparently he did not accept use of altar candles or an altar cross there until later either (CHCC NADFAS 2003/4: 110, 111), which perhaps explained why they were not installed in Trelystan during 1856 renovations. Although the expertise of the NADFAS recorders' assumptions about the dates of the Leighton cross and candlesticks or the Trelystan candlesticks could not be verified, the more definite accession of the Trelystan altar cross in 1924 supported ideas of the relatively late accession of both items in Trelystan and, by deduction, in Leighton, even if this evidence was diluted by their portable nature. These two communities had worshipped together for centuries so it would have been surprising if they did not share similar paradigms, even though this was not visible in the very different styles of the two interiors. However, surely the style of the Leighton arrangements represented Naylor agency rather than more strongly-felt or widely-shared religious convictions. No evidence was found to associate the Trelystan cross or altar candlesticks with Naylor funding. So, by the end of the nineteenth century, he was probably no longer active in Trelystan.

The very plain style of the crosses chosen for in use in old Ballaugh and St Mark's reflected continued, shared, ascetic congregational activities that influenced what was used in those buildings. Any Catholic associations must only have been distant or forgotten memories by the late date these crosses were installed.

The more complex styles of the crosses used at Bwlch-y-cibau, Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain and Leighton matched the style of the other ecclesiological contents of those more ornately-furnished chancels (Table 32). This may have been facilitated by the use of other venues by those with Nonconformist leanings in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain and Bwlch-y-cibau but no Nonconformist chapel was ever built in Leighton. Practicality probably overrode even Nonconformist devotional convictions in that community in the contexts of Naylor's activities as patron and provider of local employment.

Altar coverings

The insubstantial and portable nature of textiles created challenges for associated archaeological research. Nevertheless, their consideration did raise a number of relevant issues such as perceptions of their significance and value. The long periods between replacement of altar cloths in all of the churches studied suggested congregational inactivity in the context of constrained access to the resources of money, materials, time, and/or expertise.

When Venetian Ambassador Giacomo Soranzo visited England in 1554 he described a Communion service around a table covered with a cloth (Addleshaw and Etchells 1948: 28), implying perpetuated Catholic conventions. The 1559 Royal Injunctions stipulated that tables were not to be left bare, even when not in use (ibid: 33-34). Bray placed the first official post-Reformation requirement that altars and tables be covered to 1603 (1998: 377) but variations in parochial responses to directives were probably as related to access to resources as to hierarchical prescriptions. Records of periodic changes in altar coverings did not always relate acquisition of new items to changes in liturgical practices so new cloths probably reflected the deterioration of old ones.

For instance no politically or religiously significant activities were found to have taken place in or around 1757 when a new blue carpet was acquired in Ballaugh (MNH VR) to replace the green one that had apparently been in use on the altar there for around thirty years or more (ibid. 1719, 1748). In the context of the green cloth's long use it was unsurprising that it was deemed necessary to replace it. The use of the same cloth year-round for all celebrations during the early-modern period in most of the buildings studied implied that acquisition of appropriate textiles involved considerable resources. Fabric that represented numerous techniques and prolonged human endeavour was clearly so highly valued that such relatively small items were listed in the required periodic inventories. This reflected contemporary values placed on textile in wills where items of personal clothing were passed on even by high status individuals, for example as indicated in the 1729 will of Rector Walker of Ballaugh (MNH EPR).

Altar coverings made from natural materials were prone to disintegration which reduced their value as sources of evidence about the form, size, and material of altar coverings used in the early modern period that might have revealed

something of contemporary activity and perceptions of meaning. The documentation sourced only provided evidence of their presence, sometimes colour, and replacement, thus revealing contemporary hierarchical perceptions of the importance that tables/altars be covered but that variations in their colour, form, size, or material may have been accepted by officials when higher expectations were beyond the means of parishioners. However, the colour was often recorded. This suggested coloured fabric may have appeared extraordinary to congregations who probably had limited domestic access to dyed cloth.

The absence of any textiles for use on the Kirk Malew altar in 1665/6 (MNH EPR) implied someone had removed them during the Commonwealth, although the only evidence of what might have been used before 1640 did not list any altar cloths. Maybe Bishop Foster did not ask about altar cloths in 1634 (VR), or they were not yet in use. In the context of the 1603 canonical requirement (Bray 1998: 377) for altar cloths, this raised the possibility of contemporary logistical issues with dissemination of information from London to the Island and/or problems experienced by ecclesiastical officials in London in the absence of effective tools to monitor practice until episcopal visitations were re-introduced in 1634. By 1665/6 the churchwardens from the parish adjacent to Malew, Kirk Arbory, reported that parish's lack of 'Carpet of Silke stuffe or good or bad Cloathe' (MNH EPR), which was apparently perceived as a problem by then. Interestingly the churchwardens put the lack of textiles and other items down to not having anyone wealthy enough to donate them and recorded that a Mrs Stevenson had recently given the church a fine linen cloth, presumably for use during celebrations of Holy Communion. Specific mention implied this was a costly and perhaps rare attainment. The word 'fine' may have implied imported, because linen was produced in Man and communities would have been familiar with the processes and efforts involved in its production. The Stevenson family had long been prestigious in the parish but they seemed unwilling or not wealthy enough to give their parish church everything that was prescribed by officials. This may have been one way they asserted their social status. Donations may have been a significant resource in acquiring prescribed items which in turn implied the relative poverty of the majority of parishioners. But the dates and continued lack of any altar cloths in two parishes by 1665 did suggest the possibility that, despite perceptions of their value, such items had been removed from Manx chancels during the Commonwealth, as the font was from Kirk Malew (Table 33).

Table 33:

Disruption in Man during Commonwealth

During Fairfax's Lordship (1650-60), the BCP 'ceased to be used' (Moore 1900: 367)

	***c.* 1634**	***c.* 1665**	**later**
Kirk Malew	2 silver chalices (MNH VR)	no chalices	same chalices in use again by 1719 (MNH VR)
	altar cloth in use (ibid.)	'absence regretted' (MNH EPR)	another cloth in use by 1758 (ibid.)
	font in church (ibid.)	no font (ibid.)	replacement font in use (ibid. 1743) original used as a rain-butt (Cumming 1848: 54), reinstalled in church *c.* 1848 (Neale 1848: 35)
	surplice in use (MNH VR)	'noe surplice' (MNH EPR)	surplice in use by 1758 (MNH VR)
	BCP in use (ibid.)	unknown if BCP in use	BCP in use (ibid. 1719)
old Ballaugh	plate unknown	plate unknown	2 silver chalices in use by 1748 (MNH VR)
	purple altar cloth	no altar cloth (MNH VR)	green cloth in 1719 (ibid.)
	font incorporated in structure of southwest window		from unknown date
	surplice use unknown	surplice in use (MNH EPR)	new surplice in 1766 (ibid.)
	use of BCP unknown	use of BCP unknown	2 copies of BCP in 1748 (ibid.)
Castle-town chapels	no evidence of plate used found	no evidence of plate used found	ornate 1661silver chalice and paten in use in 1701 chapel
	no evidence about altar linen used found	no evidence about altar linen used found	after 1704 fine altar linen in extensive use (Stott 2009)
	surplice use unknown	surplice use unknown	after 1704 extensive use of fine surplices (ibid.)
	use of BCP unknown	use of BCP unknown	use of BPC unknown
Kirk Arbory	communion cup in use no other plate mentioned (MNH VR)	no silver or pewter plate except a silver 'boule' (MNH EPR)	silver chalice & paten & a pewter flagon in use in 1719 (MNH VR)
	no mention of table cover (ibid.)	'noe Carpet' (ibid.)	green carpet in use (ibid. 1719)
	font in use (ibid.)	font but no cover (ibid.)	font not mentioned (ibid.)
	surplice in use (ibid.)	'noe surplus as yet nor did the vicar dress in black (ibid.)	surplice in use (ibid.)
	'Comen Praer [...] red revrendly' [*sic*] (ibid.)	BCP in use (ibid.)	'Two Comen Prayers' [*sic*] (ibid.), '2 vol: Com prayer' [*sic*] (ibid. 1748)

In 1634 the ‘minister’ of Kirk Malew was baptising infants in the font (MNH VR). By 1665 there was ‘[...] no font [...] nor Carpett for the Altar [...]’ (MNH EPR). Particular mention of the absence of that carpet in that context implied removal may have been simultaneous. Iconoclasm of fonts and other materials reflected Puritan perceptions that ‘Divine Will was expressed in omens, symbols and metaphors’ (Hattersley 2002: 137). The visual signs of past authorities had to be ‘erased’ (Smith 1998: 30), reiterating contemporary awareness that materials actively influenced viewers.

The 1665 documentation relating to Ballaugh listed ‘noe cloath of purple for the alter [...]’, but without any surviving earlier visitation documentation from this parish it was impossible to show if those changes had occurred since 1634, although reference to the colour purple did suggest that was what they had once had. It seemed the missing altar cloths had probably not been hidden away in peoples’ homes during the Commonwealth, or that if they had, they had been put to other uses and had, by 1665, deteriorated beyond a condition perceived as suitable for use within their church. Undressed tables were probably active during the Commonwealth in assuring those Puritans who had had the altar cloths removed that their rules were being obeyed. Once the status quo was regained, the new cloths acquired actively reminded parishioners of longer memories, what was missing and how helpless they were to repair this perceived wrong immediately. Maybe they felt powerless and just tried to obey whoever they thought was in authority in order to keep the peace.

The 1665 documents for both Ballaugh and Malew stated that things were ‘out of order’. Even the small pieces of fabric required were clearly beyond the immediate means of either congregation but it was not possible to find out if ‘out of order’ represented personal perceptions of shortfalls or were geared to what the writers thought Bishop Barrow wanted to hear. The variations in materials and colours occasionally recorded of textiles used on tables (Table 34) during the early modern period suggested use took precedence over material or colour. Although in 1719 Kirk Michael and Ballaugh churches had green carpets and Jurby, a ‘blew’ one (MNH VR), church officials did not comment on those differences.

In the contexts of the proximity of Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain to the English border, wider trade routes, and the other fine well-maintained early modern contents within this building, maybe the ‘fine’ green cloth in use on the table there between

1729 and 1749 ($L^{L}GC$ PR) was made of silk. A remnant of a silk bookmark found in St Mark's Chapel (MNH IOM DFAS 2009: 408F), although tiny and *ex situ* so only very weak evidence of that chapel's access to resources, did suggest the possibility that silk might indeed have been used in what the liturgical arrangements suggested was the more economically affluent Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain.

In the prestigious 1701 St Mary's Castletown at least two cloths were in use on the altar between 1709 and 1732 (Stott 2009). In the context of the long use of single cloths in the parish churches implied by related documentation, this revealed the Lord of Man's activity in providing the considerably larger resources expended on the Castletown chancel.

Table 34:

Altar cloths: early modern use
(Stott 2009; $L^{L}GC$ VRs; MNH VRs; SA PR)

before 1665	purple cloth (old Ballaugh)
	unknown (Kirk Malew)
1665	no cloth (Kirk Malew)
	no cloth (old Ballaugh)
1709	2 linen cloths (1701 St Mary's Castletown)
before 1719	green 'carpet' (old Ballaugh)
before 1729	'fine' green cloth (Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain)
1757	new blue carpet (old Ballaugh)
1758	old cloth 'in bad repair' replaced with new 'carpet' (Kirk Malew)
1772	green wool carpet (St Mark's)
unknown	Trelystan (first cloth recorded in 1826)

The word carpet implied a certain heaviness and thickness. Although Addleshaw wrote that in seventeenth-century England this referred to velvet (1941: 52-3), the St Mark's table cover was made of wool in 1772 (MNH PR, St Mark's

Mixed Register). However, possible changes in word usage and relatively-late practice in a tiny rural chapel-of-ease could not tell what took place earlier elsewhere in the IOM.

Specific mention of the purple cloth used on the Ballaugh altar at an unknown date before 1665 suggested that its colour may have been perceived of as unusual. Green was mentioned more often. The Ballaugh cloth was eventually replaced with a green one (MNH VR, 1719), and that by a blue one (ibid. 1757).

Nothing was discovered about perceptions of the liturgical or social significance of colours used until modern times when the colour of altar frontals came to represent cyclical events within the liturgical calendar. Addleshaw stated that seventeenth-century English altar cloths or carpets were usually blue or crimson and embroidered on the front with the Sacred Monogram (1941: 52-3).

No evidence was found that this convention was adopted in Man until much later. The frontal with central Sacred Monogram in Figure 39 was the earliest photographic image of an embroidered cloth found, which placed it after 1862, when photographer Keig set up his business (www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/tourism/pgrhrs.htm). Its colour was not discovered.

Another, possibly of similar design, in use in Ballaugh from 30 November 1891 (MNH MCM February 1891: 13), was red. Despite its form, the latter was hand-made (Isle of Man Times 11 November 1893: 12). No evidence was found that it was replaced before 1925, perhaps reflecting the considerable expense represented by the replacement of a single frontal, probably by that time, with a manufactured one that the Industrial Revolution and related technical advances in transport brought within the reach of even those who lived so remotely as Ballaugh. Doubtless the female donors of the 1891 cloth were from a high class family because they had the leisure to make such a labour-intensive article, the resources to buy the necessary materials and the self-confidence to make a donation for use within the most sacred *locale* in the church. Even so, their status as women meant that their efforts were not acknowledged formally within the church, reflecting late nineteenth-century social paradigms. The personal skills and time invested in finely executed needlework were not very highly valued even when used on the altar.

The altars in the 1826 St Mary's Castletown and Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain were both photographed uncovered in the nineteenth century. It was not clear if this suggested non-use of altar covers in those buildings at that time or that they were

only covered during services of Holy Communion. Surely the affluent communities who attended these two buildings could have afforded fine altar cloths. It seemed variations in use were accepted and therefore probably theologically insignificant because no evidence of related official censure was discovered.

The form of the cloth still displayed on the Trelystan altar in 2012 replicated the style of the typically Laudian 'silk or velvet carpet falling loose at the corners [...]', (Cuming 1969: 143). However, use of cotton damask fabric, its worn condition, and simple form all implied long use, and that collective low economic capital status still curtailed community activity in acquiring a new or more tailored version.

Plate

A pre-requisite for the central Christian activity of Communion was communion plate, comprising a cup or chalice for wine, a paten on which the bread was placed, and a flagon in which the wine was stored. Although their form meant these items could never be discovered *in situ*, they were often dedicated in an inscription to a particular building, which limited the likelihood of use elsewhere, or for other purposes. In contrast with textiles, the long survival of plate from all of the buildings studied reflected the properties of the materials used, and implied careful storage and shared perceptions of its worth. Plate was a valuable source for interpretation for possible associated meaning. Many also contained memorial inscriptions (Table 35), evidence of the continued centrality of the Church to some families, and that inscribed items had more than devotional meaning for those involved.

Church buildings' longevity, commemorative items' devotional contexts in how they were made and given, and official prerequisites for Faculty permission for their acceptance facilitated the survival of items in ways that would have been inconceivable in more secular or domestic fields. So was the administrative requirement for periodic inventories of church contents. Perceptions of shared ownership within communities probably also contributed, particularly, to the survival of small items. Inscriptions on portable items were conspicuous and awareness of religious contexts meant such vessels were probably perceived as unsuitable for use in other fields. Commemorative items given were often of high

Table 35:

Silver Communion plate: inscriptions

	17th c.	18th c.	19th c.
un-inscribed	-	Ballaugh 2 1795/6 chalices	Trelystan 1890 chalice and paten
dedicated to donor	-	Llansantffraid 1720-3 paten and cup (Robert Wynne)	1701 St Mary's 1809 paten (Miss Qualtrough)
	-	Llansantffraid 1720 paten, (Ricus Pryce and William Lloyd)	K Malew 2 1823 plated chalices (T. Fellows)
	-	Llansantffraid 1733 paten, (Margaret Godolphyn)	1826 St Mary's 1830 chalice and paten (Robert Quayle)
	-	St Mark's, 1772 chalice (Ann Bridson)	Blwch-y-cibau 1862/3 3-piece set (Mrs Lee)
	-	St Mark's 1772 paten (Ladies of Marown)	Ballaugh, 1883 3-piece set (Lady Buchan)
	-	K Malew two 1781/2 chalices marked with unknown Arms	
memorial inscription			Bwlch-y-cibau, 1887/8 **(**paten dedicated to Mary Leigh)
devotional references	Castletown Chapel 1661 chalice and cover, (*Agnus Dei*)	Llansantffraid 1720 paten (IHS)	Trelystan 1824/5 plated cup (IHS)
			Leighton 1852/3 4-piece set (ihs)
Unknown	K Malew two pre-1634 chalices since lost	Ballaugh two pre-1748 chalices, since lost	

value, and this probably contributed to perceptions that they should be cared for conscientiously.

A paten used from pre-Reformation times in Kirk Malew has survived, suggesting it was highly valued by someone in the parish at a time when failure to comply with Governmental edicts carried with it the risk of severe censure. Ownership of such fine items seemed likely to have been much more widespread prior to the 1540s if only because of the centrality of the Mass to Catholic services and the activity of fine plate in expressing this. The lack of much other surviving pre-Reformation plate implied that elsewhere most items in similar use had been removed. The continued existence of the 1527 Malew paten also suggested the possible involvement of the donor who may have lived through the 1540 dissolution. It was relatively new then and may have represented considerable monetary sacrifice, which may have been factors in increased personal or community-based efforts to save it. This paten represented early-sixteenth-century off-Island links to the resources of trade, fine materials, and skills because church plate expert Jones gave no indication that this could have been manufactured or inscribed in Man (1907: xiii). The inscription told of the use of Latin in pre-Reformation Manx churches. The decorative style suggested manufacture after about 1520 (ibid: xvi). Preservation into the twentieth century indicated perpetuated perceptions that its value to the local community outweighed any Catholic connotations implied by its pre-Reformation production and use, although by then these might have been unrecognized by most of those who used it.

Much earlier, in the immediate aftermath of the Reformation, the Ballaugh congregation probably made do with vessels made of other materials, evidenced in the absence of silver plate at all the early visitations. This supported ideas of peri-Reformation iconoclasm, because the Manx pre-Reformation Statutes referred to chalices of silver, gold or 'if need be, of pure tin' (Bray 2005: 57).

The best quality pewter contained over 90% tin (Patterson 2005: 6) suggesting not every community could afford silver or gold, and that sometimes pewter vessels were used. Pewter was acceptable to post-Reformation authorities too (Bray 1998: 291). A pewter flagon used in Kirk Malew before 1719 (MNH VR) implied the eighteenth-century centrality of flagons to celebrations of communion. The use of so large an item suggested a sizeable congregation but, either they could not afford to buy so substantial an item in silver to match the aforementioned silver

paten and the two silver chalices (MNH VR 1634) they owned, were reluctant to do so, or local patronage was absent or inactive in this regard.

The pewter flagon in use in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain in conjunction with a silver chalice and paten from at least 1729 ($L^{L}GC$ PR), implied that Manx conventions were not dissimilar to those in mid-Wales. Clearly the liturgical use of pewter was an accepted custom. Acquisition of communion plate was the responsibility of the parishioners, not of the incumbents, and reflected their access to resources.

Economic parochial constraints were apparent in Ballaugh too. Early modern use of pewter communion plate in both Manx parishes studied implied careful post-Reformation budgeting and the absence of wealthy patronage. Pewter must have been widely available for domestic use. Alternatively, use of pewter rather than silver vessels may have expressed shared puritan ideals that preferred plainness and the use of domestic items during services. The non-survival of much early-modern pewter probably reflected its susceptibility to corrosion and that it could easily have been re-worked and re-used for multiple purposes within the home.

In the eighteenth century some pewter used in Kirk Malew was imported from Ireland (Jones 1907: 26). This was hardly surprising because of Bishop Wilson's connection with Trinity College in Dublin with which he probably maintained links. However, no use of a pewter chalice in Man was discovered (ibid: xxix), which seemed as likely to have been related to the friability of pewter or to domestic re-use as to the possibility that pewter cups may have been associated with inappropriate social use.

Although early modern use of household forms and materials commonly reflected rejection of Catholic models (Parry 2006: 109-110) at least one English authority censured the use of pewter tankards as flagons in 1683, probably because of their similarity to what was used in taverns (Patterson 2005: 7). Parry noted an increase in the use of images on English communion plate during Laud's arch-episcopacy (2006: 109), surely related to Laud's emphasis on the centrality of the Eucharist.

However, of all the churches studied only Kirk Malew owned a paten decorated with a holy image while he held office and the parish had possessed this since medieval times. Nothing was discovered about the use of plate in any of the other old churches studied that linked practices with Laud's influence during his

lifetime. Indeed when Bishop Foster visited Kirk Malew in 1634 two silver chalices had already been in use there, presumably in conjunction with the silver pre-Reformation paten, since before Laud had had time to influence practice there. If the lower quality of pewter in more common use expressed the reduced significance of Holy Communion as reflected in its infrequent celebration after the Reformation, no evidence was found that the use of decorated silver in Kirk Malew indicated increased numbers of such celebrations in that building.

Both Ballaugh and Malew congregations only commemorated the Lord's Supper quarterly (MNH VRs) which did not reflect the differences in the plate the two parishes owned. All the other silver plate discovered was acquired from the 1670s (Table 36) so, although Laud's post-mortem influence via the non-Manx bishops appointed could not be discounted, ownership of decorative communion plate may have been influenced more strongly by the activities of local patrons.

Table 36:

Silver communion plate: earliest post-Reformation acquisition
(MNH VRs, L^{L}GC VRs, SA PR)

before 1634	Kirk Malew (2 chalices)
1677	Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (paten)
probably *c.* 1701	Castletown Chapel (chalice and paten/cover)
1772	St Mark's (chalice and paten)
before 1748:	old Ballaugh (chalice)
1890	Trelystan (chalice)

English bishop Lancelot Andrewes also advocated the use of Sacred Monograms and other devotional imagery on plate after 1605 (Parry 2006: 110). Although the earliest post-Reformation Castletown plate dated later, from 1661, this form, and possibly Andrewes' influence, was visible in the inscribed image of the *Agnus Dei* and the absence of a personal dedication. However, the nonexistence of

post-Reformation ecclesiastical records related to the medieval or 1701 Castletown chapels made it impossible to establish when this set came into liturgical use. Less than a fifth of donors used such images and only the donor of the Castletown chalice and cover seemed likely to have been influenced by Andrewes.

The donor of the Leighton four-piece set decorated with a simple Sacred Monogram and scriptural message in 1853 was almost certainly estate owner Naylor. The style of his donation, probably chosen to match the exuberant ecclesiological ideas displayed in the other material arrangements inside the new chapel-of-ease, reiterated his power as key actor within this community.

Considerable English church plate was melted down after 1642 and put towards war expenses (Parry 2006: 112). Apparently this included all of the plate once used at Rushen Abbey in the Isle of Man, owned by the Royalist Earls of Derby after 1540 (Jones 1907: xii), although Jones did not record how he came to that conclusion, which weakened his comments as a source. In 1665 (MNH EPR) the Malew churchwardens reported that they had no plate for the communion table but the same silver used in 1634 was listed again in 1719 (MNH VR). Possibly it was hidden during the Commonwealth, which reiterated the probability of considerable disruption of Manx religious material culture sometime before 1665. Although some post-Reformation silver Manx communion plate like the two chalices used in Kirk Malew in 1634 disappeared after 1719 (ibid.) and another two chalices used in Ballaugh went missing before 1795 (ibid. 1795), those losses took place too late to have reflected support for either side in the Civil War. Future consideration of plate used in other Manx churches during that period might determine if the loss of similar items in Ballaugh and Kirk Malew within seventy-five years or less of each other was coincidental or part of a wider Insular trend.

The silver 1661 chalice and cover used in the Castletown chapels have been ascribed to the 9th Earl of Derby. If so, the Derbys did not expend all their wealth on the 1642-51 conflict. In the contexts of disuse of silver plate in Kirk Malew between 1634 and some time after 1665, and the absence of any Castletown silver plate dated earlier than the 1661 chalice and cover, the possibility that silver plate in use after the Reformation in the medieval Castletown chapel was used to support to the Royalist cause must be considered, especially because of the special links that may have been in place between that chapel and the Lordship of Man. Its successor was perceived as the Lord of Man's Chapel (Stott 2009) which may have perpetuated

earlier perceptions of the medieval chapel. However, the 1701 chapel possessed some unspecified pewter plate because townswoman Ann Walker was paid for 'scouring' it in 1733 (ibid.). In the context of the 1701 chapel's use of the fine 1661 silver plate by then, and probable perceptions that its use reflected the chapel's high status, clergy officiating there may have rejected use of pewter plate. The retention and care of the old pewter probably reflected shared, treasured memories of what had once been used in the medieval chapel.

The 1661/2 Castletown plate has survived. The chalice may once have been a high status domestic item but the paten that doubled as its cover seemed more likely to have been specifically designed for liturgical use, although the inscribed *Agnus Dei* may have been a later addition. Between 1661 and 1701when the new Castletown chapel was consecrated they may have been used in the Derby chapel at Lathom. Although no solid evidence was found to support the supposed link with the 9th Earl of Derby, no other likely donor was identified. The probability that this was a gift from the Lord of Man was increased in the context of the donation in 1704 of a marble altar by his successor. Changed relationships between the Castletown chapels and their parish church may have dated from when, instead of giving this plate to the parish church as might have been expected, the 9th Earl gave this gift to either the medieval Castletown chapel around the end of the seventeenth century, or to the new chapel when it was consecrated in 1701. The infrequent but high status marriages of Castletown residents, for instance in 1678, and burials, as in 1687, of Castletown residents that took place in the medieval Castletown chapel (MNH PR, Malew Mixed Register) suggested that the medieval Castletown chapel was perceived as out-of-the-ordinary and prestigious, despite its lowly, official, chapel-of-ease status. The use of the 1661 plate in the 1701 Castletown chapel in the contexts of use of the marble altar given in 1705 (Stott 2009) and frequently-laundered fine altar linen and surplices (ibid. 1705-1765) reflected shared Laudian activities. This building enjoyed a special relationship with Insular secular governance despite the official documents which confirmed Kirk Malew's continued seniority.

However, even the Lord of Man's chapel did not own the gold plate that Addleshaw wrote some seventeenth-century English churches used to express high church paradigms (1941: 52-3). The high level of maintenance carried out within the 1701 chapel between 1704 and 1765 (Stott 2009), reflected the patronage of the

Lords of Man. The townspeople's activities were limited to their employment by successive Lordships (ibid.). They probably did not have access to sufficient resources to contribute towards fine plate for use in this building. Although the context of the often dilapidated state of Kirk Malew (MNH VRs 1758, 1766) reflected shared perceptions of the high status of the 1701 Castletown chapel until 1765 when the Lordship's patronage was transferred to the Crown at the Revestment of the Island, the Castletown chapel's subsequent rapid deterioration from 1765 reflected repatriation of the English business community and inactivity among the Manx left behind to maintain this building.

The material culture revealed that soon after 1765 relationships between the 1701 chapel and it parish church reverted to the status quo. Kirk Malew acquired a new chancel, a north transept and two new silver chalices once a new English business community arrived in the south of the Island and began to attend services in what they perceived as the senior Castletown Church, that is, the parish church. The consequences of this major Manx political event which devastated the Castletown economy probably saved Kirk Malew from disintegrating beyond repair because, according to numerous reports from previous episcopal visitations, prior to that the congregation had been inactive in maintaining that building.

The chalices given to Kirk Malew between 1781 and 1783 were decorated with a family crest which may have actively reminded users of the high capital status enjoyed by the unidentified donors for a time. They may have immigrated from Scotland because the Arms on the in-escutcheon suggested the wife was a Scottish heiress (Burnett 2012, *pers. comm.*). Any commemorative meaning was soon lost. In the contexts of immigration into the parish of Malew around 1780 and the rapid turnover of prestigious seating in Kirk Malew from around the 1820s, such donors were not remembered long.

The missing pair of Ballaugh chalices replaced in 1795/6, although undecorated, were in the same style as those acquired by Kirk Malew in 1781. This suggested possible links between a London supplier and the Island in the context of governance from London after the Revestment, although the maker's marks on the Kirk Malew chalices were too rubbed to confirm such a connection (Jones 1907: 25).

The source of funding for the Ballaugh silver remained unknown but the lack of decoration implied thrift, so probably a congregational purchase or, in the context

of the plain pewter in use there in the past, continued parochial activity in asserting shared ascetic paradigms.

The overwhelming majority of donors of silver plate actively referenced themselves within inscriptions. The absence of such self-aggrandisement in the seventeenth century and its increased popularity during the following two centuries suggested that enhanced disposable incomes gave donors a sense of self-worth they were keen to display. Indeed their gifts have survived hundreds of years, although their more official purpose ensured that most were never seen so closely as to discern donors' names except by celebrants and their assistants who cleaned the communion plate. Donors cannot have anticipated that their gifts would contribute more to modern genealogical and archaeological research than in actively perpetuating esteem for their families.

Ann Bridson gave St Mark's a paten in 1772. This gift reflected her personal economic status. Its acceptability by those in authority was probably linked with that family's activities in contributing financially to the building of this chapel (MNH PR, St Mark's Mixed Register). The chalice given at the same time mirrored the resources available to a group within another Island parish, suggesting intercommunity links.

Despite the three-legs-of-Man inscription on the paten, the form nor the material of either was Manx. All the silver plate in use in the Manx churches studied originated off-Island, although in Man by at least 1797/8 the lead mines at Laxey were producing silver (Feltham 1798: 242).

There were probable exceptions in use elsewhere in the Island. The 1758 beaker from St Sanctain's Parish Church (Figure 117) was only marked with a Douglas maker's name. This suggested it may have been made from Manx silver although its production pre-dated Feltham's reference to the Laxey mines which was the earliest found. The use of beakers instead of chalices was rare in England. Their use in Man may have reflected low-church tendencies (Jones 1907: xvii-xx; Yates et al. forthcoming: 3) but they were not considered because use of this form was not discovered within the parishes of Ballaugh or Malew.

The decoration on the St Mark's paten probably represented that dish's domestic past as did the gap between its manufacture in 1730 and donation in 1772. This prestigious gift which perpetuated the Bridson name probably cost donor Ann Bridson nothing. It may have been a deceased relative's purchase or a gift to a

family ancestor which held no personal meaning for her. She may not have perceived any need to rely on the ownership of such items to display her social status. Neither did there seem to have been a perception that it should be retained as an economic asset, perhaps to sell to augment her income. The churchwardens' accounts indicated that they paid for it to be inscribed.

Domestic items were given to the Welsh churches too. A paten given to Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain about 43 years after it was manufactured in 1677 ($L^{L}GC$ PR 1729) was also likely to have been purchased originally by a forebear. Consequently the names of donors Ricus Arminger and his son-in-law William Lloyd were also perpetuated for over three hundred years, apparently with little activity or cost on their part.

The single chalice and paten gifted to St Mark's were never augmented (PR, St Mark's terriers). This implied lack of access to funding for this purpose or that this congregation remained so small as not to require the provision of more plate.

Congregational stability was evident in Ballaugh too. The silver bought for the old church was transferred to the new parish church but continued to be shared between the two buildings throughout the entire period studied (ibid. Ballaugh terrier). Comparison of the Ballaugh seating plans between 1740 and 1832 (Table 21 on page 110) confirmed that the social structure of this population remained relatively static.

Only one item, a silver paten, was donated in memory of a departed relative. This was to Bwlch-y-cibau in 1887. This church was built in an ecclesiological style in 1864 when the congregation acquired a complete set of silver communion plate. The plain style of the paten gifted soon afterwards by three sisters surely reflected contemporary female reticence as was their probable knowledge that it was surplus to requirements. It can seldom have been seen in public and then only during services when a larger than expected congregation was present. Those involved might reasonably have been expected to be concentrating on the Sacrament and the occasion rather than surveying the silver or any dedication. This gift surely represented private devotion and contrasted markedly with the large prominent memorials to male parishioners displayed in the nearby Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain. The Bwlch-y-cibau paten's probable inactivity represented shared perceptions at that time of the low social status of women, although the donation of a gift for use within

the male dominated *locale* of the chancel may have reflected increased contemporary female involvement in political activities and associated self-esteem.

The lack of commemorations in anything but English on the plate used inside Manx churches reflected the want of written Manx until the end of the eighteenth century. It also suggested that those with access to resources to donate gifts were English speakers, thus linking eighteenth-century usage of English in Man with high economic status. The entirely Latin or English inscriptions on all the Welsh plate considered implied that this was so in mid-Wales too, although the proximity of the Welsh parishes studied to the English border meant that forms and styles in use may not have represented those used elsewhere within Wales.

Trelystan Chapel's lack of silver plate before the end of the nineteenth century probably reflected it humble chapel status as well as the challenged spending power of its congregation. The single un-inscribed silver-plated chalice purchased by Trelystan churchwardens in 1825/6 (SA PR CWA) and used there until 1890, when the, by then parish church, acquired a new chalice and paten, suggested they used pewter plate before 1825. There was probably a shared perception of the necessity of owning higher quality than pewter chalice, but it remained un-inscribed. This and the material used suggested its acquisition within tight economic constraints that reflected this community's remote location and stated lack of high status residents (SA VR 1792).

Acceptance of personal gifts for use on altars bestowed honour onto donors but this status was restricted to those with high economic and social capital because of the costs involved. Continued use for several hundreds of years and survival indicated that some items were perceived as valuable and worthy of preservation over many generations. That both inscribed and non-inscribed plate has survived signified perceptions of devotional rather than personal worth shared over the *longue durée* although shared *habitus* may have been influential. Plate was not often on public view but mostly seen and touched fleetingly during Communion services. Dedications may have become unfamiliar or unknown to most after a generation or so and probably remained most recognizable by those responsible for their storage and cleaning. Therefore inscriptions were not only for posterity. Surely they were also directed at the clergy and other local officials, for instance to remind new incumbents which families in the community were of highest social status.

Inscriptions also provided evidence of long use within single buildings. For instance the medieval Malew paten indicated that the foundation of this church was at least medieval and suggested early wealth and long prestige. Most of the inscribed plate donated to the churches studied told about donors, although not always who had purchased items donated.

For instance the 1720 Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain paten revealed the relatively recent marriage of Ricus Pryce's daughter to William Lloyd even though that was not the purpose of that dedication. And although not inscribed, official documentation supported by maker's marks indicated that the silver plate in use in new Ballaugh was used in the old church from about 1748.

The ratio of the two chalices to one paten in use in 1634 in Kirk Malew suggested that parishioners were invited to partake of wine during ceremonies of Holy Communion from early modern times there. This feature as evidence of Protestant practices was weakened by Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain's ownership three patens and only one chalice in 1720, although maybe an earlier tradition was perpetuated there.

In conclusion the scarcity of plate evident in very early Manx and Welsh documentation suggested loss at the Reformation and that it was not always replaced promptly. This probably reflected consequent infrequent celebrations of Holy Communion, contemporary centrality of the Word in liturgies, acceptance of low-church ideas, and perhaps lack of access to the resources of money or wealthy donors whereby such items might be replaced. Early use of pewter probably also reflected that lack of access to resources affected whole communities rather than particularly small congregations because everyone was expected to attend church at that time. Subsequent use of silver became active in signalling to those present that parishioners should consider related discourses as special.

Evidence about changed use of the material culture challenged claims by Moore (1900), Yates et al. (forthcoming), and Platten (2010) of little disruption within the Manx Church during the Commonwealth period. It is hard to believe that congregations like those in Kirk Malew would hide their silver plate rather than disposing of it during that period and then provide false information about its continued possession in 1665 (MNH EPR) unless there were tensions between prevalent hierarchical expectations and congregational perceptions. After all, the suggestion that much silver was melted down towards Royalist efforts in the Civil

War offered such an opportunity had the Kirk Malew congregation been enthusiastic to do so. Some may have contemplated this, and individuals rather than the churchwardens become involved in concealing the plate and keeping its location secret from church authorities and/or indeed Royalists, yet another, albeit unsubstantiated, possibility of lack of accord rather than of religious and social stability.

The amount of silver plate in use increased in most buildings over the period studied. This seemed to have as much to do with individuals' wishes to make active statements about their social status as to meet parochial devotional needs. The ownership of at least one set of silver communion plate by all the buildings studied by the end of the nineteenth century indicated shared perceptions of its necessity, perhaps to reflect the new focus from pulpit to altar.

Conclusions

In conclusion, analysis of characteristics of chancel furnishings that found as many regional and parochial variations as did consideration of definition of chancels and naves, reflected the long, broad nature of Anglicanism.

The aesthetic, mildly-dissident trend noted inside Manx churches in Chapter IV was as evident in this diocese's use of chancel furnishings. Despite their apparent low-church leanings, there was, just as clearly, more disruption of the status quo in the mid-seventeenth century than was recognized by the previous scholarship of Moore (1900), Platten (2010), or Yates et al. (forthcoming).

The one exception to these puritan activities was in the material of the table-shaped marble altar in use in the 1701 Castletown chapel-of-ease between 1705 and 1811, as was its probable location away from the east gable during liturgical use. The following chapter explores the life of that marble slab, demonstrating which actors engaged with it and controlled its use, and how the meaning of this single object facilitated human activity during its production, use and storage.

Chapter VI

Artefact Biography

The gift of the R^{t} *Hon*^{ble} JAMES
Earle of DERBY Anno 1704

(Figure 51)

The importance of relationships between people and material culture, recently recognized by those investigating the past, was demonstrated in Chapters IV and V. Material culture is integral with human activity, and archaeological research a good way to consider how it has created agents (Dobres and Robb 2000: 14). It has been suggested that more covert artefact activity be considered in order to understand those relationships in the context of historical archaeology (Herva et al. 2009: 158) and that one way of communicating this information effectively is via artefact biographies (Mytum 2010b: 241). When compiling biographies, the same kinds and range of questions can be asked of things as of persons (Kopytoff 1986: 66). In this context, archaeologists should deliberate less on the function, dating and style of artefacts and concentrate instead onto the constant linked transformations that occur between people and objects during their production, exchange and consumption that create meaning (Gosden and Marshall 2010: 169). To those ends, the following biography focused on the gift of an altar-slab from James the 10th Earl of Derby to the 1701 St Mary's chapel-of-ease in Castletown, which arrived in the Isle of Man in 1705. The chapel into which it was installed was demolished *c.* 1824. No plans or drawings of the building were discovered. However, the conventions evident materially inside other contemporary Anglican buildings, expectations that prevalent rules would have been obeyed in Castletown too, within the resources available to that community, and the limited documentary evidence found, suggested some internal arrangements. Figure 46 was produced to help readers imagine themselves inside that building. This account considered the source of this slab and changes in how it was used during its life-cycle for evidence of resources available, and of relationships between civil and religious authorities, the Church and the laity, English and Manx Castletown residents, laity of varying social capital, and rural and urban inhabitants.

The altar slab

The first time the author saw this rectangular slab in 2009 it was in a domestic outbuilding where it had recently been taken after being stored in Castle Rushen since the 1980s, when the former 1826 St Mary's Castletown chapel-of-ease was sold. The slab appeared dark green in colour and was so dirty its geological composition was uncertain. The smooth rectangular surface measuring 1.22 metres x 684 mm x 43 mm was completely plain, the edges sharply delineated and then moulded first into a concave and then a convex collar that surrounded all four sides (Figures 49 and 50) except for a small, flat section on one long side on which there was a deeply-incised memorial inscription in English and Latin in capital and lower case roman and italic lettering (Figure 51). The slab had once been broken into at least two pieces, those parts having been repaired underneath with three heavily-rusted iron bars and numerous bolts and nails (Figure 52). There was more general chip and other damage. Most of the date in the inscription had been destroyed.

The slab's sharp edges and crisp inscription in the context of its otherwise soiled and damaged state excluded the possibility of it being made of the much softer local black limestone from the southern Poyll Vaaish quarry (Figure 6) which was commonly used for Insular gravestones and other memorials as seen in Island churches and churchyards. Once cleaned-up, its smoothly-polished but poor quality light-grey stone containing subtle white, pink and liver-coloured veins became visible. The surface contained a number of tiny fossils, flaws and areas filled with sedimentary rock, thus was limestone, but in deference to eighteenth-century perceptions, the slab has been referred to as marble throughout. A small fracture to one corner coincided with a fault. Two round holes at one end through which the screws for the repairs were inserted had been re-filled with concrete.

Two supports that seemed associated with this slab composed of what appeared to be carboniferous grey limestone (Figure 54) that may have been sourced in the IOM (Cole and Cole 2012, *pers. comm.*) had also been stored in the Castle.

Reference in the inscription to James the 10th Earl of Derby identified the eighteenth-century donor. Transcriptions by Dr R. Stott in 2009 of the CRP which contained underwritten entries in English detailing costs incurred whilst maintaining the Lord of Man's household at Castle Rushen between 1704 and 1765 was extremely valuable in facilitating access to information from friable sources although

assessment of original paperwork showed some transcriptions were incomplete. Receipt of the slab via Connishead in Cumbria, and its intended use as an altar in what was perceived as the Lord of Man's chapel in Castletown (Figure 55), were confirmed. Entries probably represented activities accurately, especially as the countersignatures contained implied careful supervision.

Historical contexts

In the early eighteenth century, secular governance in Man was from Castletown. Soon after he was appointed, Bishop Wilson consecrated a new Castletown chapel-of-ease to Kirk Malew, St Mary's Chapel, across the town square from Castle Rushen, in 1701 (MNH DD: box 98). This building was chapel-of-ease to Kirk Malew but its additional role of chapel to the Lord of Man's household and garrison situated at Castle Rushen resulted, as will be shown, in an unusual relationship with its parish church.

Earl William died shortly after the new chapel was consecrated and was succeeded by his brother James the 10th Earl of Derby in 1702. He sent 'a marble table bought for the uſe [in] my Lo[rd]'s Chappell' (MNH CRP 1704) soon after his succession. The wording of the entry indicated common perceptions of the chapel's status expressed more widely by the chapel's exemption from episcopal visitations until 1787 and probably from the requirement to keep terriers. No evidence was found that Church officials' expectations of periodic inventories of the contents of Anglican buildings were ever undertaken in that chapel although Winterbottom wrote without explanation that the 1701 chapel was 'partly furnished with items from the old one' (2010: 53). A nineteenth-century transcription of an undated entry in Castletown vestry minutes that stated 'A part of the old chapel in School-lane was taken down, the materials being used in the erection of the new chapel [...]' (MNH MCM February 1891: 92) seemed to suggest reuse of structural rather than of furnishing materials. Cubbon (1971: 23) quoted from an unfound 1698 source that the carpenters who built the 1701 chapel could make use of 'all the stones and Timber in that part of the old chapel wch. Is likewise to be pulled down [...].' However, the gap between the 1701 consecration of the building and the arrival of the new altar table in 1705 did suggest use of an older table, probably from the medieval chapel, during the intervening years.

Few early-modern English churches were fitted with stone altars. One was installed in Durham Cathedral in 1625 (Fincham and Tyacke 2007: plate 9). Another in the church at Wilden in Worcestershire which may have been a pre-Reformation altar was destroyed in 1636 by the Archbishop of York (1582-1650) (ibid: 158) who seemed to have been in direct confrontation with Archbishop Laud (1573-1645). Others, possibly also of medieval origin, must have still been in active use in England in 1643 because a Parliamentary ordinance demanded their removal that year (Parry 2006: 188). Fincham and Tyacke (2007) did not refer to the installation of any stone altars in England after the Restoration until the nineteenth-century ecclesiological movement became influential, which reduced the likelihood of any such event. Surely these thorough researchers would have noted such an exception to the norm.

By the eighteenth century British trade had reached international proportions (Jackson 2004: 166). Contemporary Manx Customs Returns recorded the activity of Castletown residents in shipping, implying the probability that many townspeople were familiar with the exchange of commodities for locally produced goods and/or services. The 10th Earl owned the ship 'Henrietta' in which items were imported into the Isle of Man and which was repaired at his expense, for example in February 1719 (Stott 2009). Eighteenth-century pine rather than oak pews in Kirk Malew, Santan and other churches (field visits) confirmed the importation of non-indigenous wood. That no seventeenth-century joiners', turners' or carvers' guilds existed in Man (Cotton 1993: XVII) surely reflected the scarcity of locally-produced timber. Importation of stone into the Island was not unprecedented. The arches in the arcade in the medieval Castletown chapel were built of yellow sandstone which does not occur naturally in the Island. The transport of the marble slab to the IOM was possible because the global production systems in place by the end of the seventeenth century included the Island.

This slab as a commodity

British limestone as a commodity, like the 'marble' quarried in Purbeck in Dorset used to furnish Roman Catholic churches, actively elicited admiration and awe for the furnishings and imagery constructed, so trade declined after the Reformation when liturgies focused instead onto Scripture. Before it was hewn into a table-top,

the Derby altar slab possibly came from a so far unidentified northern British source. This was supported by its poor quality, arrival via Connishead in Cumberland, comparisons between the polished slab and the un-worked sample of Cumbrian limestone held by the London Natural History Museum from the tiny photograph offered on-line, and discussions with petrology curator David Smith via e-mail. Geology graduates Alan Cole, Anna Cole, and Kate Kewley who kindly viewed the slab also agreed that provenance possible. Whatever its source, temporary events linked with access to transport and trained masonry facilitated a lump of limestone being quarried, sold and fashioned into a table-top.

Maybe the Earl of Derby was familiar with Dean Richard Hunt's marble altar in Durham Cathedral and aspired to a similar, but less expensive, gesture. The Earl's gift was not dissimilar in its Classical symmetry albeit probably much smaller and surely very inferior in quality. Figuring in foreign wood was especially admired at that time (Beard and Goodison 1987: 44) so viewers who had never seen marble before would have found the coloured inclusions in the 1704 slab attractive too, despite its flaws. An admired aspect of many imported woods was that they polished well (ibid: 45) as did quality marble. However despite the evidence from the receipt that the Derby marble was already a table when purchased two factors indicated it had never been used as an ornamental piece of furniture in a former life. It contained flaws that would not polish up at all and no evidence was found that real marble was used in England in the construction and use of decorative, fashionable furniture until the mid eighteenth century when Adam, Kent, and others began to use high quality marble for this purpose (Brunt 1983: 246).

The possibility that the slab was associated with the Derby seat at Knowsley Hall was investigated (field visit 2012). Despite the plethora of marble furnishings noted there that reflected previous Derby agency and considerable access to a plethora of resources, none matched the 1704 altar-slab in date, size, style, or material. Curators there were unable to identify any piece in the Hall to 1704 or earlier. They were unsure of the provenance of the marble furnishings in the Hall but suggested all had been acquired after about 1732. The adjacent private Derby residence was not accessed, so findings were not definitive but no evidence was found to associate the marble slab sent to Castletown in 1705 with use in any capacity by the Derby family or employees, although in the context of its cold nature, it seemed possible the slab may once have been used as a food preservation

aid, for instance within a dairy before technical advances allowed for the transport of ice or for mechanical refrigeration.

It seemed inconceivable that the Earl or his agents were unaware of the low quality of this slab. It was possible the Earl never saw it because the CRP indicated that he employed agents to manage his affairs, and expectations for careful budgeting. In the context of the considerable expenses incurred during the 10th Earl's refurbishment of Knowsley Hall from 1702 (Draper 1864: 300-313), this slab was almost certainly purchased with economy in mind. The Earl and his officials may have thought the Manx lacked the education or experience to recognize its low value and that perceptions of the slab would be enhanced by its unlikely appearance in Man. Kopytoff called this 'commoditization by diversion' (1986: 28) although surely this perception did not extend to Bishop Wilson or the other English officials in the Island appointed by the Earl. Maybe civil and religious authorities, and upper class English who resided in Castletown, conspired to accept the slab for use as an altar despite its poor quality. Jackson wrote about the wide range of meanings of trafficked things and responses of those associated with them (1998: 95). The wide social divisions between the English and natives living in Castletown may have ensured shared English presumptions that Islanders had little taste, and that the slab was good enough for them in the sound knowledge that, as insurance, once in use the slab would always be covered in public.

It also seemed the Lord of Man's or more likely his agents' perceptions were that artisans who could work this very hard material skilfully were not available in the Island. Maybe the Earl's agents already had established contacts and did not consider looking for anyone else with that sort of experience. The skilfully incised inscription was evidence of the expertise of the early eighteenth-century stonemasons involved. Although none of the gilding that the 1705 receipt revealed was added has survived, this procedure also told of the Earl's access to particular products and proficiency.

The quality, small size, and plain form of the slab suggested that it was intended as an inexpensive gift, although possibly the 10th Earl was aware that the interiors of Manx churches were furnished simply in comparison with many of those in England, that he empathized with his tenants' ascetic paradigms, and that he deliberately reflected this in his gift. Not a single marble effigy existed inside any Manx church. Maybe one of his officials in Man or his older brother mentioned this

absence in the context of the finely-carved medieval marble effigy to the first Earl (Figure 118) in Ormskirk Parish church near the Derby Estate at Knowsley in Lancashire with which the 10th Earl must have been familiar.

Whatever the Earl's motivation in acquiring and transporting this slab to the Island, up to 1705 this artefact was a commodity of low economic value which contributed towards the income of a number of skilled workers but had no lasting emotional effects on those involved with it.

Arrival in Man

The gilded slab only became definitely associated with the 10th Earl of Derby in 1705 when it arrived in Castletown. Its receipt told of the Lord's access to a wide marketplace and, despite its shortcomings, of access to funding far beyond what most Manx residents could imagine.

Considered as a commodity, surely the Earl expected something in exchange for what, for him, must have been the minor expense and trouble involved in the production and delivery of this gift to the Island. It was indeed perceived by the recipients as a prestigious gift because it has survived. In the context of eighteenth-century wills (MNH PR, Malew wills) that indicated considerable poverty in Castletown and associated expressed perceptions about the deserving and undeserving poor, surely those involved in working for the Lord of Man's household would have been reluctant to risk losing their jobs by offending their employer, whatever their perceptions of the slab's quality or of its material references to Catholicism. The CRP detailed a close relationship between the livelihoods of the Castletown townspeople and the absent 10th Earl. Rejection of his gift would have caused major offence to the highest authority in Man and impacted onto the wellbeing of Castletown residents, many of whom were in his employ (Stott 2009). The local economy thrived because of the Earl's patronage, even though his interests must have focused more closely on his military and other duties in England than on the personal welfare or aspirations of his tenants in the Island.

An example of his benefaction was his agents' employment of Manx masons and others to acquire some of the local limestone to form into a base for the slab soon after its arrival in January 1705 and, eight months later, to construct four altar rails around it in the chancel of St Mary's Chapel (Stott 2009). There were

trained/indentured masons and other craftsmen in the Island by 1705 evidenced by related Manx legislation from 1691 (Mills 1821: 114), although mastery of their trade must have been constrained by the generally poor quality of Manx stone. There are two sources of limestone near Castletown that may have been used. If the local black Pooil Vaish limestone, known colloquially as 'marble' was used to fashion the base of the altar-slab, this precluded it being crafted into delicately-shaped legs or supports. Pooil Vaish limestone's fragility as a building material is visible in the Manx graveyards where it deteriorats quickly once exposed to the elements. That the original base has not survived, and local perceptions that Pooil Vaish limestone was marble, suggested this may have been the material used. If so, in the absence of any other example of structural use of finely-carved Pooil Vaish 'marble', the base was probably a single, solid, plain prism that matched the quality of the marble table top. On the other hand the white limestone of which Castle Rushen was constructed was also available locally, although if that product was used it seemed strange that the 1705 base has not survived. Whichever product was used, the Earl utilized Manx labour from a much lower social level than his own as a commodity, although his agents probably did not perceive workers in this way because the name of each, however small their allocated task, was recorded throughout the CRP.

There were tensions between acceptance of this gift and Manx culture. Those coming into contact with materials must have responded variously and may have designated the material involved with any of many meanings, depending on the contexts within which those connections took place. The quarry workers and masons involved in the setting up this slab in the local chapel may have had few perceptions about it except as an opportunity to make some money. This seemed likely to have been in direct contrast with the bishop's and the Castletown chaplain's perceptions. Surely they recognized its poor quality as well as its reference to sacrificial Sacraments immediately. The Earl's gift was simultaneously bizarre, because it was described as marble, and integral with contemporary Manx low religious practices, because of its poor quality, simple style, and table form. The Lord of Man managed to overcome the Manx cultural reticence visible in the simply furnished Island ecclesiastical interiors. Possibly he chose a flawed material to minimize the exoticness of this slab. Its form tailored to the relatively minimalist style of contemporary Manx ecclesiastical interiors probably helped. The word

'table' in the CRP may have deliberately contrived to facilitate acceptance of the slab. On the other hand the townspeople and soldiers who attended services in the Castletown chapel may just have related the slab to the infrequent services of Holy Communion that took place there then (Stott 2009) and little else. Their proximity to the slab was imposed on them and may not have entered their consciousnesses much except as part of shared social practice that accepted compliance with edicts from those perceived as having higher social status. 'It would never have occurred to them [Bishops Barrow and Wilson] that the Manxmen were fitted for anything except abject obedience' (Brown 1896: xi).

Support of their families must have been paramount to the Manx workmen involved. The Lord of Man's whims and his chapel were probably perceived as valuable sources of income to be utilized to that end. The CRP that recorded the processes involved in installing this slab into St Mary's Chapel did not provide clues as to the more personal experiences of those involved that might suggest anyone developed meaningful relationships with this new acquisition.

Most may not even have been aware it was unusual because the receipt and installation of the slab into the chapel may have been relatively private events. Sources recorded that the seats in the 1701 chapel (MNH DD box 98) were for the townspeople, but they were not allocated officially until after 1787 (Ralfe 1926: 46). Apparent approval of the gift was probably influenced by perceptions of the donor's extremely high social rank. Rejection of a prestigious gift from the highest in the land by lower-ranking individuals was probably inconceivable within the prevalent culture. The present may have contributed to a collective sense of indebtedness that ensured acquiescence, and may even have been part a planned governmental strategy by the Earl. The CRP showed its use contributed towards local job opportunities for the maintenance of the building within which it lay to a high standard, and for the provision of appropriate finely-made, freshly laundered textiles with which it and the clergy who interacted with it during celebrations of Holy Communion, were dressed. Those services were paid for by the Lord of Man, albeit surely from income derived from the efforts of the Island people. The CRP recorded payment for the collection of local produce for use by the Lord's household.

The gift may have been an attempt to manipulate the Manx clerical hierarchy in the Lord of Man's favour. Whatever its quality the material implied confidence and longevity, suggesting that it was chosen to represent these qualities in the donor

to recipients. Such allegorical implications represented the unequal relationship between the Lord and his subjects and could only have been intensified by its acceptance.

Once installed and consecrated within the chancel of his chapel where government officials, the garrison, the Bishop, and many of the townspeople attended weekly services, the slab's relationship with everyone involved changed dramatically. Immediately, it gained public and official recognition, approval, and the authority, albeit vicariously, of the Church. It became singularized (Kopytoff 1986: 73) by its transformation from poor quality commodity to culturally and religiously-valued object.

This slab's arrival in Man may initially have appeared to have been part of the English Church's post-Commonwealth attempts to re-introduce Laudian ideas. However, Laud would have been offended by its quality and to the references to the lay power of the Manx Lordship and its officials (Fincham and Tyacke 2007: 305) its use implied. Its imposition on the new Bishop of Sodor and Man in the firmly established low-church context of the rural Manx churches evidenced in their building forms, liturgical arrangements, and use of wooden communion tables did not attempt to emulate contemporary attempts in England for those in ecclesiastical and secular authority to work together harmoniously. Rather, this altar and its inscription probably reflected Insular tensions between religious and secular authorities.

Bishop Wilson may have accepted use of this altar to promote his career. He shared Laudian ideas that promoted the sanctity of chancels that this altar's quality could not, but he must also have been aware that Laud's heavy-handed approach had been spectacularly unsuccessful. This gift arrived at a time of transition for Wilson and for the Island. His patron the 9th Earl died very soon after his promotion to Bishop after an episcopal interregnum, so maybe he perceived a need to indicate that he willingly transferred his loyalty from Earl William to his successor James. Subsequent events detailed below showed that Wilson took his episcopal role seriously and had no problem challenging secular authorities, but this was only after he had considered the local situation thoroughly. In the context of personal relationships between Wilson and the Derbys the gift may even have been a statement from the Earl to express his secular authority over the Bishop, and that its acceptance was Wilson's practical response during a time of change and potential

social disruption. Wilson may have hoped that the ordinary people, who probably had never seen coloured, polished, gilded limestone before, were not aware of the actual quality of the slab or its iconographic significance. After all, his authoritative position could ensure the slab was always covered in the presence of the laity.

By the 1690s an increased number of applications for Faculties to put railed altars into various English churches were submitted (Fincham 2003: 50) but church officials in urban parishes did not always obey episcopal edicts (ibid: 52). So, that no evidence was found that the Castletown chaplain ever applied for permission to install the 10th Earl's gift into the Castletown chapel was not unprecedented, although possibly related documentation was lost or destroyed over time. More likely, the newly appointed Bishop and his officials did not choose to challenge the authority of the Earl's officers to do more or less what they wanted in this building.

The new altar was probably positioned away from the east gable of the chancel because four iron rails were made for it in August 1705 (Stott 2009), although how clergy then accessed the table was undiscovered. Possibly two of the rails were made shorter than the others to provide an opening on one side around an altar positioned against the east gable, but no evidence was found that a gate was made. The detailed composition of the CRP suggested that if such an item had been made the craftsman and expenses involved would have been recorded. Possible implications of an altar situated away from the east gable were that the chaplain sometimes officiated from the east side of that altar and/or that communicants gathered around all four sides.

The likely arrangement of the altar rails in 1701 St Mary's Castletown from 1705 (ibid.) was probably unique in Man, but less unusual in the context of English liturgical arrangements. The altar in Lyddington in Rutland was surrounded by four rails from 1635 (Pounds 2000: 457/8, Fincham and Tyacke 2007, plates 12 and 208). The altar at Melton Mowbray was also railed on all four sides from 1635 (ibid: 207) as part of wider practice that reflected lack of clear instructions from the then Archbishop of York. The table in the Priory Church at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire is still enclosed on the north, east, and south by benches, and on the west by a rail (field visit 2013). Many such installations pre-dated the Commonwealth, although a variety of similarly-railed altar arrangements were still in use in English churches in 1700 (Fincham 2003: 51). So the 1704 altar may well have been positioned away from the east gable because those in authority in Castletown like the Governor, the

Bishop, and the chaplain had been more heavily influenced by English than by Manx cultural practices.

This altar may also have impacted on perceptions about the status of the Castletown Chapel, which in turn affected relationships between the chapel and its parish church. During use the exhibition of this slab within the contexts of careful, subdued lighting, freshly-laundered textiles and colourfully dressed clergy and soldiers may have been planned to elicit sensory responses from those present. Records indicated that the Castletown Chapel flourished during the eighteenth century when the parish church did not, although there was plenty of evidence that Kirk Malew was officially the senior of the two. For instance the vicar officiated at the consecration of its new chapel-of-ease in Castletown in 1701 (MNH DD: box 98), instead of the Bishop or the chapel chaplain. The chapel's relationship with the parish church at Malew probably offered townspeople the choice to attend services at either venue, not an option available to more rural communities. The Lord's household funded periodic repairs to the parish church (Stott 2009), although this was not particularly remarkable, because of Kirk Malew's Crown living status and that the Lord of Man represented the Crown in Man. Despite all this, the Castletown chapel seemed to have been accepted as being of higher status than the parish church. Shared perceptions that the altar was marble may well have been used by the Castletown chaplains to challenge the authority of the parish priest who probably officiated at Communion from a wooden table.

At some stage during 1705 Bishop Wilson probably consecrated this slab, as had been the practice since the 1630s (Fincham and Tyacke 2007: 240). No record of such an event was found, but Easter Sunday in 1705 was 12 April. The CRP recorded that the base for the new table was set up in April of that year, so maybe the new altar was consecrated at Easter prior to its first use in celebrating Communion. Even though no consignment of sacramental wine was recorded as arriving until August of that year (Stott 2009) it seemed highly unlikely that Communion was not celebrated at the most important event in the Christian liturgical calendar. The altar's consecration may have been delayed because the altar rails had not yet been put into place by Easter, even though it was the table rather than the rails that was active in representing its donor and the Holy Sacrament. The CRP recorded that the base for the new altar was set up in January 1705. Surely Church officials would have had no reason to delay its use once the base was in place. If displayed

undressed as would have been appropriate before consecration, the table's presence might have raised potentially troublesome issues like its quality or why a stone table was being proposed for use in Protestant liturgies. The rails were not made until August 1705 (ibid.). If Wilson had waited for them to be in position before he consecrated the altar, the next major festival would have been Christmas. No reason was discovered why he would have waited so long to do so.

During the short phases of installation, undressing and dressing this slab, officials involved may have raised questions about its appropriateness for use during Protestant liturgies. However, its use in this capacity until 1811 indicated that the ritualized discourses designed to occur in conjunction with this and other altars during liturgies associated with periodic celebrations of Holy Communion were never overruled by outcomes from theological debates or any scruples experienced by local individuals or groups. This may have been for social, practical, or theological reasons. After all, in 1705 Manx presentation records recorded that individuals who challenged the rules risked censure, whatever freedoms those near the top of the social scale exhibited. Nonetheless, episcopal and clerical agency afforded the slab activity within those liturgies, although in the contexts of its probable position behind a large triple-decker pulpit and the infrequent services of Holy communion celebrated then, it was probably out-of-sight and out-of-mind to most people and thus inactive during much of its use-life as an altar in this building. Although the form of the marble altar-slab functioned actively as a holy table within liturgies familiar to participants in services of Holy Communion, it was impossible to find out much about the liturgical arrangements inside the 1701 chapel. Whatever the physical layout within chancel and nave, the prevalent convention was for a large, tall pulpit that represented Protestant perceptions of the importance of understanding the Word over commemoration of the Sacrament to be placed in a prominent position within each nave. When Feltham visited in 1797/8 he did not even notice the altar, commenting instead on the red satin cloth on said pulpit. As he was writing an account of the Island for publication he was certainly looking for interesting things to say. This altar-slab was not the norm. Surely if Feltham had noticed it he would have written about it.

As an actor, the 10th Earl apparently felt self-assured enough to test the rules by having a secular message inscribed on a poor quality material intended for use as a religious altar which surely he knew, once consecrated, would remain so for its

entire life. The use of upper-case lettering to denote the Earl's name actively drew the researcher's eye to this information on the inscription as it must have to literate viewers in the eighteenth century, although the small size of the flattened area on which the inscription was incised indicated that James did not intend that any other message ever be added to his. In Man local graveyard and other memorials were deeply incised with similar testaments to the workmanship of those involved in the same roman style as some of the lettering on the 1704 slab, suggesting links between English stonemasons and those in Man. That the inscription was gilded had an air of showmanship about it. The Earl's self-assurance was revealed in his access to the necessary resources. His commemoration of his own gift rather than the recipients and artisans involved, whose skills were displayed anonymously, reflected the social mores of the time. Capital status was clearly valued over the long apprenticeships associated with learning manual skills.

Covenants made in eighteenth-century wills still first commended gifts to the glory of God and only then to recipients (MNH PR, Malew wills 1724-1772). So when the Earl ignored this common convention he revealed a personal perception that his position within society was very high indeed. However, the intended direction the inscription was meant to face during use has remained uncertain. The orientation of this table within the 1701 chapel was not established. The Earl must have known that on an altar his inscription would be covered and that few lay persons were likely to handle the altar or dress it once put into service. So, although the chapel was an overtly religious *locale,* the altar was specifically secularly active in the explicit but unspoken dialogues that must have taken place between the absent Lord of Man and the clergy involved in undressing and re-dressing the altar. This was probably relatively frequently because of how often the altar linen was recorded as being laundered (Table 40). This contrasted with the very different relationships between the covered altar and the laity whenever they interacted with it during the considerably less frequent services of Holy Communion that took place in this chapel during its use (Stott 2009).

In the context of the simple arrangements used within the Manx rural churches the unusual material of this gift suggested that there may indeed have been tensions between the common people in Castletown and church officials, although because many Castletown residents had English names (Stott 2009) it was presumed they felt some empathy with the culture expressed by the largely English religious

and civil hierarchy that gathered in the town, despite the social gap between them. But the materiality of the gift may have been unknown to anyone except the clergy and the few workmen who set up the new altar. After all, the 1634 canon that required altars to be covered (Bray 1998: 377), unelected members of the House of Keys until 1866, and inaccessible Tynwald sessions facilitated the telling of only selective details about the Lord of Man's gift to Castletown residents. Such a situation was perhaps exacerbated by general illiteracy, infrequent Communion services, and continued involvement of the townspeople with Kirk Malew, their parish church. Whatever the common perception, this slab was accepted, evidenced by its continuous use in the 1701 chapel until 1811 when a new, wooden altar was installed in its place (Ralfe 1926: 20).

The marble altar reminded the Bishop and the chapel chaplains that their appointments were in the gift of the Earl or his surrogate, the Governor. Whatever the Governor, the Bishop, or the Chaplain of the 1701 chapel actually thought about the change to the use of a marble altar, its acceptance showed that they all perceived they had to work within the constraints of the Lord of Man's patronage. All held highly-visible posts as part of civil governance whose power was expressed in the maintenance of the chapel to a higher standard than that visible in the parish churches, evidenced in comparisons between the CRP and contemporary visitation returns from those churches. Bishop Wilson had powers over and above those enjoyed by his peers, for instance by holding Convocations long after they were banned in England and Wales (Neale 1848 and Bray 2005: Vol. I, II). There may have been little interference from York in the Island at that time, but Bishop Wilson's agency remained constrained by those in civil authority in Man. Despite Insular tensions between those in civil and religious power, it must have been advantageous for both parties to perpetuate at least a public illusion of agreement and harmony. The altar-slab arrived before conflicts between the Governor and the Bishop came to a head, so its gracious acceptance would have been a reasonable strategy to perpetuate good working relationships. That these subsequently broke down, the chapel locked, and the Bishop imprisoned for a short time had nothing to do with the slab, and once it was put into use both sides must have recognized that its removal might have increased, rather than calmed, tensions. Potential consequences for the townspeople of rejection of the slab were losses of jobs, incomes and social positions.

Periodic shared rituals associated with this altar-slab bonded those involved, and excluded those not involved. So, the Earl's message to the clergy who saw the altar undressed as it was prepared for major cyclical festivals like Easter and Whitsuntide, was integral with its consecrated state and the Anglican Church's close relationship with civil governance. Its material composition was symbolic of the religious and secular power of the Earl of Derby in his role as Lord of Man and the inscription reminding them of the supremacy of the secular Lordship over the Manx Church. This message may have extended to include students in the nearby grammar school who were training to become clergymen at that time. Their preparation surely involved practical sessions in the chapel. Maybe the Earl had planned to perpetuate his message to that audience too.

The altar's clothed presence in the chancel probably symbolized the mysterious Sacrament of Holy Communion and the all-seeing power of an invisible Almighty to ordinary townspeople. It seemed likely the clergy encouraged this perception because it endorsed ideas about the mysteriousness of a Divine power that supported the authority of the clergy. In the unlikely event of any of the laity entering the chancel between services of Holy Communion and glimpsing the unclothed altar, the inscription may well have been unintelligible. Because of its sacramental significance, the slab was probably never touched by the laity. The congregation may have been completely unaware of the tensions between the covered table, its quality, and the secular inscription, although the style of that inscription may have set a precedent in the Island. It was the earliest secular inscription on a liturgically significant material found.

Loss of meaning

It was over a century before the 1704 altar was replaced with a wooden altar. Little was found out about this new altar except Ralfe's unreferenced statement of its arrival in 1811, long after the 10th Earl's death in 1736. Gelling wrote that the 1704 slab was not replaced until 1892 (1998: 202). Despite his intimate knowledge of the Manx Church and that both these church officials would have had access to related primary sources, Ralfe's generally well-researched and referenced booklet, and his role as warden in Castletown, invested him with a special interest in and knowledge of the Castletown chapels. The supposition taken was that his statements about the

arrival of the replacement altar and details about its predecessor were the more accurate. Memories and related perceptions of the Derby dynasty have been long-lived even though James was the last of the Derby line. One might have thought that his succession by distant cousin the 2nd Duke of Atholl would have signalled the end of deference to the Derbys and the use of this altar slab. If so, despite the possibilities for controversy, its survival as a focus of liturgies for a considerable period after James' death did suggest generally conservative Manx devotional practices.

The replacement, which was not related to Atholl succession to the Lordship or to substitution of the 1701 building, of the marble slab with a wooden 'table' (MNH VR 1833) that Ralfe however, called an altar (1926: 20), seemed a deliberate communal act of rejection of the older altar and perhaps of Laudian ideas. Although the 1704 slab may have lost some liturgical and secular significance when replaced, it may have owed its survival to perceptions of its previous authority. It was not destroyed in 1811, so apparently not everyone approved of its replacement. Maybe it was retained because it was consecrated. Although a liturgy existed that allowed for the ceremonious and formal de-consecration of consecrated items to prevent inappropriate secular use, associated processes were laboriously long. Another potentially disrespectful fate awaited carelessly-discarded, disused ecclesiastical furnishing. It was fashionable for a time to have an ancient monument or ruin in one's grounds. Despite the dearth of such artefacts in Man there was at least one instance when a medieval stone altar was used as a showpiece within a high status Castletown garden (Garrad 1985: 139). A formal de-consecration ceremony would have detracted attention from the new altar. If not de-consecrated, the slab was probably retained within the chapel to protect it from inappropriate secular use until it was transferred to the belfry of its successor, the 1826 chapel (Ralfe 1926: 39), presumably with the approval of those, like maybe the vicar of Malew, with authority to have it stored there, out of what was probably perceived as harm's way. This may have been done clandestinely so as not to draw public attention to the old slab.

Periods of neglect such as its incarceration in the belfry were relevant to this slab's continued absorption into Castletown culture. Even after it was no longer the centre of Communion liturgies it must have retained meaning for some because it was not discarded entirely, although its secular meaning became less significant

when its location was changed, as did its theological meaning when it was no longer used to celebrate Communion services. Its previous liturgical use for over a century that was part of the devotional memories of the members of that congregation, and some of their descendants, may have influenced its retention. If the clerical authorities had objected strongly to this slab's Catholic or secular symbolism, the death of the 10th Earl, transference of the Lordship of Man to the Atholls and then Wilson's death all offered opportunities to replace it earlier. So St Mary's recognized Government status (MNH VR 1833) and the civil authority of the Lordship of Man within the Manx Church may also have been influential.

The slab's weight precluded it having been an easy thing to carry up to the belfry, so this was not just a convenient storage area. This implied it had created tensions which were resolved by its preservation within the chapel, albeit well out of public view or access. Perhaps it was forgotten after a time. It was hidden away for approximately thirty years during which time it was probably redundant as an agent, agency being dependent upon inter-relationships with human beings. Conversely, one might argue that a piece of furniture like this slab that had been consecrated retained its religious authority unless specifically deconsecrated whatever its physical place, and whether in the presence or absence of people. After all, the Church advocated daily services whether in the presence, or absence, of a congregation.

The slab may just have survived because its material culture did not deteriorate when stored in inclement, damp conditions. But it was probably saved by the direct references in its inscription to the Lordship of Man that perpetuated shared perceptions about deference to one's betters. Whatever the consequence of its storage out of the public gaze, it was badly damaged at some unknown stage. It may have been dropped on its way up into or down from the belfry, deliberately broken as an act of disrespect, or during de-consecration. The damage was extensive so possibly someone actively tried to destroy the slab when it was replaced in 1811, the implication being acute awareness that it had powerful meanings that might impact onto the community if not destroyed.

Some meaning regained

Although it was impossible to tell if the damage sustained was deliberate or accidental, the repairs noted (Figures 52, 53) seemed likely to have taken place during or after the slab was removed from the belfry, if only for logistical reasons. The rusted-iron composition and thickness of the bars used in the repair implied age. However, the style of the machine-made bolts and screws as well as their insertion into the marble suggested use of modern technology that placed the repairs into at least the second half of the nineteenth century, contemporary with the slab's probable removal from the belfry after 1855. Repairs were not finely executed, suggesting that the craftsman involved worked within economic constraints, or that the slab was no longer considered to be of specific social, political or religious significance. It had outlived the economic conditions within which it was originally produced.

Feltham noted the use of post-chaises within and around Castletown when he visited in 1797/8. This implied the presence of related businesses to facilitate maintenance and repairs to the metals involved in their use. Pigot's 1823 Directory recorded the presence of a blacksmith in the town, which might also have been involved in the repair of the altar-slab. However, the entirely functional repair was evidence that, although the eighteenth century may have been considered the golden age of hand-made ironwork in England (BBC 16 May 2012), that level of talent had not extended to the Isle of Man a century later, even for the repair of a once highly-esteemed object. The repair may not have reflected anything about the ornamental possibilities expressed in English ironwork that echoed wealthy patronage there, but continued to provide good compression between the broken fragments. By 1889 steel had displaced iron as a structural material (Bryson 2011: 305, 312). Although this implied that the repair on the table top was earlier than that proposed, in the contexts of the quality of the repair and lack of access in the IOM by the nineteenth century to the financial resource of the Lord's patronage, an iron repair between 1855 and 1892 seemed possible, especially in the context of contemporary iron repairs to Manx gravestones, although most of those seen were with staples that brought cracked or broken pieces of stone into close proximity (Figure 119). It was not discovered if that style of repair would have supported more portable horizontal items like the slab, which was designed to carry a certain amount of weight. The

broken sections of vertical gravestones were partially supported by gravity and by being sunk for a proportion of their height into the ground, as well as by the metal repairs carried out.

The repair on the slab consisted of narrow, mass-produced plates held onto the underside of the slab with screws and bolts. A number of un-used holes implied that the plates were not made specifically for this repair. It seemed the slab was no longer perceived to warrant such individual attention as it had once enjoyed, although whether it was its religious, or its secular, past that had ceased to be significant was not discovered. Few bolts were used and the excess lengths of the screws were not cut off. The finishes to the underside repairs, and to the holes in the surface through which the screws were fixed, were not carried out to a high decorative standard. It was apparent that few financial resources, or much technical finesse were allocated to this repair, and that perceptions of this slab had changed considerably since its use in the 1701 Castletown chapel. But those who did the repair were competent, perhaps reflecting practical aspects of a largely rural agrarian community with access to few resources except the application of knowledge based on passed-down experiences. The MFLS detailed numerous examples of men making farming equipment or carrying out repairs with only a few materials and tools to work with, that reflected the general poverty of the local population. What looked like the original repair, because there were no signs of holes or other features that might indicate an earlier one, has not had to be modified and, despite the repair's appearance under the slab, the top surface of the slab remained functional as a table.

How was the old slab re-discovered? Its presence may have been secret passed on from incumbent to incumbent. Possibly Ferrier, Chaplain between 1855 and 1896, went exploring one day and on finding the slab examined it closely enough to discover its provenance and potential for re-use, remembering that at that time the belfry would not have been lit by strong artificial lighting, the slab would probably have been filthy, and possibly already broken. Apparently Ferrier had supports made for the old slab and had it placed in the vestry (Ralfe 1926: 39) where its presence before 1892 was recorded in vestry minutes (MNH MCM 1892: 92).

The seemingly machine-polished legs found with the slab in 2009 appeared more modern in form than the slab. If Ferrier was the key actor in causing the slab to be removed from the belfry, put it onto new supports and into use in the vestry, these was the actions of an incomer who did not arrive in the Island from the south

of England until 1855, so was unlikely to have been influenced by any perceptions or cultural memories about past relationships with the Derby hierarchy either in Man or in the north of England. So the altar's re-emergence into semi-public life may have had little or nothing to do with Manx culture. The possibility that a table was simply needed for vestry meetings, that someone remembered the old slab, and that it was brought down solely because it fitted that purpose, existed.

One could but guess at Ferrier's motives, but it seemed that an Englishman may have perceived this slab to be of some historical or even religious worth, and that his perception of his social and clerical status gave him the authority to reinstate it into use without having to apply for Faculty permission, albeit not in public nor in its former position of theological power. So any possibility of episcopal censure or parochial unrest that its reinstallation in the chancel might have elicited was avoided. Ferrier or others may have been constrained within the prevalent increased popularity of Nonconformism in Castletown that reduced attendance at Anglican services from trying to re-introduce a marble altar into the chancel for its originally intended purpose for fear its Catholic connotations might exacerbate the exodus. Maybe Ferrier viewed this slab as an antique. By bringing it back into use in the vestry he and others who had enjoyed a Classical education would have been able to view and admire it uncovered, despite its flaws. Or maybe the reference to the Lordship in the inscription was active in lending perceptions of *dignitas* to meetings held around it. After all, it was not a standard table and so may have re-enforced perceptions of the formality of this *locale* in making meetings held there special, signifying the exclusion of non-officials and uninvited members of the congregation whilst also reminding those who participated of the more prestigious past of an earlier Castletown chapel. It probably remained inactive in relation to the congregation for a time because its use in the vestry was invisible to them, but an account of this altar was soon published (MNH MCM 1891/2: 92-5, 105-6), implying wider public awareness and interest.

The slab's use in the vestry, presumably undressed, in the context of the lack of information discovered about this phase of its use-life, suggested shared ambivalence about its origins or possible meanings. When Locke succeeded Ferrier as Chaplain the slab may have acquired more personal meaning, because the new chaplain had been raised in the Island, and the history of the town and its chapel may have been part of his cultural memory. Legal issues related to the chapel's

government status also became especially highlighted as the chapel was considered for promotion to parish church status at the beginning of the twentieth century (MNH DD 1920, box 98). The past significance of the slab cannot have been ignored any longer by the incumbents and officials involved in recording chapel business on it. These activities made the table integral and active in the recording of official events undertaken in the building, many of which continued to be associated with the Sacrament of Communion and with Manx political affairs, both associated with its arrival in 1705.

In use, this slab was once central within specific public liturgies. Once installed into the chapel it was an unwritten reminder to those involved with it of prevalent rules and conventions. Therefore, in practical terms the slab only became religiously active in the presence of those who knew what the rules were whether they complied with them by faith, *habitus*, or actively rejected them. The contexts of prevailing eighteenth-century culture and lack of quick and easy transport links facilitated a shared conservative paradigm. The activities of most would have been influenced by any contact with this slab. However those without the mental capability to grasp the concept of rules, or to copy others' actions, and over time, the increasingly more likely presence of someone who has never heard about Anglicanism or the Derby Lordship, the slab became less religiously or socially active. Alternatively, it may have remained aesthetically active to many in its material, its style, and/or perceptions of it as an antique, even though it could not compare with the next marble altar installed in a Manx church. The altar designed by Gilbert Scott installed inside St Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Douglas for Christmas 1909 (Crookall 1910: 741) represented a very different paradigm for a very different congregation than its predecessor in Castletown. Rather, the 1704 altar was largely about the 10th Earl of Derby as actor, and the perceptions of others who came in contact with it. It had once reflected the considerable influence of the Derby Lordship on the local community while in use as intended, then, in its disappearance, the demise of Castletown as capital of the Island, and the less personal relationship that developed between the Crown as Lord of Man and Islanders after the 1765 Revestment. It owed its survival to shared memories but the way it was used and looked after post-Revestment indicated that perceptions of the Lordship were no longer so central to personal paradigms as they had once been, perhaps because of increased immigration to the Island, an elected house of Keys,

and the transference of the capital to Douglas, and of the Lordship of Man to the Crown.

The date constraints of this project dictated abandonment of the biography of this slab in 1925, long before the end of its use-life. The material culture inside more modern Manx Anglican churches revealed that this altar definitely did not start an Insular trend in the use of marble altars, although exceptionally a marble altar was installed in All Saint's Parish Church in Douglas in the 1960s (Anon 1967: un-numbered). The material culture and arrangements inside the majority of rural Manx churches and chapels indicated that neither the Laudian devotional ideas expressed by the 1704 slab, or indeed local deference to the Derby Lordship, had many lasting effects on wider Anglican material culture in the Island, although the rediscovery of the slab in 2009 facilitated its installation into Kirk Malew where it has functioned as originally intended since 2011. It remained uncovered for about a year, but in 2012 was so completely covered up that both material and inscription were absolutely invisible to any except the most curious and intrusive. The slab's display like that suggested continued perceptions by twenty-first century church officials of the potential for the Lord of Man as an actor, via the activity he bestowed on his altar-slab in its form and material, to continue to interact secularly with modern viewers if not so positioned and covered. So the Anglican convention of covering altars continued to offer a practical solution to possible controversy. This practice perpetuated the slab's use within overtly Protestant arrangements which told of considerable changes in social and cultural values, and paradigms over the *longue durée*, but prevented any likelihood of interactivity between parishioners and the slab except for its significance within liturgical events.

Conclusions

In conclusion, consideration of this slab as a commodity beyond its Manx contexts allowed for fuller deliberation of the meaning of its associations with humans during its production, exchange and use, as recommended by Gosden and Marshall (2010: 169), despite its quality, small size, and the relatively short time-period covered. As Kopytoff pointed out (1986: 74) and this biography has demonstrated, the acquired value of the slab's singularization was not guaranteed, but depended on the contexts of use, visibility, and condition. Although 'the singular and commodities are

opposites [...]' (ibid: 87), and this slab could never have been converted back into a commodity because of its poor quality and its condition, its cultural and religious values were re-established to some extent just because of time-related changed human perceptions, which linked it with the arrangements and furnishings discussed in Chapters IV and V.

The altar-slab was shown to have more meanings and uses than its donor originally intended or official function dictated. These depended on the perceptions of those who interacted with it over time in various social and physical places within changing political and ecclesiastical systems, as revealed in the way related events were recorded or not, in the altered locations the slab was used or stored in, and in how it was cared for in those different places. Even though some aspects of how the slab was used were atypical in the contexts of the other liturgical arrangements considered, and took place largely within a geographical location relatively isolated from England and even from other parts of Man, English models clearly influenced how the material culture was arranged, and used, inside the Castletown chapels. However, the activity discovered to have actually taken place did not challenge an emerging theme of this research of an active Insular culture that modified English models to fit in with the social perceptions and religious convictions of Island residents.

The biographical approach taken did indeed draw attention to the significance of sequences in the life-history of a single piece of church furniture (Mytum 2010b: 245), linking those ideas with its production, exchange, and use. It allowed detailed interrogation of material, and related sources, for evidence of changed meanings, and of material and human activity, and tensions, over a period of more than two-hundred years. The process made it possible to consider the possible impact of each event onto the next. Archaeologists only see the results of actions taken, not the causes, but this chapter was able to demonstrate that agents' powers to initiate actions varied according to structuration concepts of time and place. The approach taken also supported Gosden's and Marshall's suggestion that gifts maintain links with their origin and donor (2010: 173). Meanings were shown to overlap according to time-related sensory perceptions linked with *habitus*, governance, and memory which created a complex biography that included the exhibition, storage, and use of the slab within various contexts. These revealed intermittent periods of interactivity that probably saved the slab from absolute oblivion. Transitions were not always led

liturgically but at all times within social and political contexts, supporting Barrett's (2000: 66) ideas about double hermeneutics defined by two sorts of agents, those that acted over time, and another in the researcher who observed those events from within a very different paradigm. This in turn challenged ideas that the slab was inactive in the belfry. The author's interest in the possible meanings of that period designated it activity. This biography demonstrated the centrality of material culture in creating agents and expressing agency, but as Insoll (2004: 77) reminded readers, meanings discovered should not be perceived of as unchallengeable because the researcher's *habitus* and experiences cannot but have intruded into how the interactions and activities detected have been interpreted.

In the context of the evidence of strict eighteenth-century class structure this altar slab's transformation from low quality commodity to high status altar, and its survival, was remarkable. The 'essence of culture is discrimination' (Kopytoff 1986: 73). The 10th Earl of Derby had a poor perception of Manx culture when he donated this altar for use in the Castletown Chapel even though, as has been shown, his patronage empowered it, activated it, and ensured its survival. This biography has shown that over its use-life the material of the slab was transformed from being perceived as exotic, before its time, and prestigious to being made out as no longer relevant to Castletown or wider Manx communities, to on-going re-immergence. Its eventual acquisition by Kirk Malew reflected over three hundred years of cultural memories of envy and frustration about earlier relationships between the parish church and its Castletown chapels, which have however, probably never entered the collective memory of most Islanders, or more widely.

Chapter VII

Clerical Dress

Them was the times, th'oul'-fashioned times
When the flax would be goin' a spinnin';
An' the busy the queels were whistling roun'
As quick as the talk of the women

(Kermode, A.J. 1911)

There has been recent 'preoccupation with agency, practice, and performance that considers the dressed body as both subject in and object of, dress practice' (Hansen 2004: abstract). Although past research about clothing reflected the interdisciplinary world of material-culture studies, a number of archaeologists have considered the subject too (Joyce 2005: 141). The materiality of clothing 'can be understood as body scripts to be read in certain ways [...]' (Berco 2011: abstract). Clothing as a means of visual communication (Schmidt, 1989: 38) has reflected social relationships and those between people and materials. Joyce described the [clothed] body as '[...] a metaphor for society [...]' (2003: 140) suggesting that modern archaeologists think of it 'as a site of lived experience, a social body and a site of embodied agency [...] (ibid. abstract). 'Clothing, body and performance come together in dress as embodied practice' (Hansen, 2004: 373). In the contexts of the consideration of material activity, resultant social interaction, and of liturgies as performances in previous chapters, analysis of clerical dress as a part of Anglican material liturgical arrangements for meaning seemed appropriate.

In the portraits of the 10th Earl of Derby and Bishop Wilson (Figures 120, 121) both dressed very grandly at a time when clothing defined social rank more than presently. Unsurprisingly, no contemporary images of low-ranking Manx-born clergy were discovered. This chapter has focused on what rectors, vicars and chaplains wore whilst undertaking their professional duties. Consideration of official and personal documentation indicated that Manx parochial clergy probably dressed somewhat as their countrymen did and more simply than their English leaders until the nineteenth century, when social divisions between Manx clergy and

the laity probably became more clearly displayed in clerical dress because of changes in the way those clergy were then educated.

Anglican canon law had three sources: scripture, tradition, and reason (Bray 1998: xxx-xxxii). Those related to clerical dress were probably governed largely by tradition and reason rather than by scriptural direction, except for requirements to dress modestly. However, the Manx clergy sometimes actively overcame the episcopal prescriptions which reflected Insular Bishops' off-Island origins and training. This may have reflected local *habitus*, the stability of Manx traditional culture, social divisions between the English and Manx, and/or that Bishops appointed to Man prioritized other issues. In 1580 a minimum of graduate status was re-iterated for entry into the English priesthood although those proficient in Latin and able to quote the scriptures were also considered (ibid: 766). However, many ordinary Manx clergy were educated entirely in the Island, for example at the Grammar School in Castletown. This on-Island training was associated with perceived needs for the clergy to be Manx speakers. As late as the early nineteenth century John Clarke who attended Castletown Grammar School wrote of stringent entry requirements and daily exercises in translating English, Manx, Greek and Latin (1817-20: 47, 49, 64). His contemporary, personal account was a strong source even if only the experiences of a single person, especially as it was clearly written as a reflective diary for self-analysis and self-improvement.

A number of potential difficulties arose in exploring textiles from an archaeological perspective, not least because they were usually made from natural materials that deteriorated during wear, care and poor storage conditions. Early items were unlikely to be discovered, let alone *in situ.* In the context of the poor conditions in which the indigenous population have been shown to have lived, even old ecclesiastical garments and cloths were probably recycled, maybe for children's clothing, bedding or rags. Unsurprisingly, most surviving textiles were related to those who once enjoyed high social status. A search in the Manx Museum produced a number of portraits of early bishops in their ceremonial rochets, an even larger collection of nineteenth and twentieth-century photographs of clergymen in professional attire and some items of finely woven and crafted, but probably imported, eighteenth-century female linen underwear and aprons. A single, small, grey homespun pillowcase was the only example of locally woven eighteenth-

century linen produced as evidence of the typical homespun product from which early modern Manx parochial surplices may have been fashioned.

Textiles as commodities

Photographs of Manx and Welsh nineteenth and twentieth-century clergymen in formal black suits suggested their activities in accessing woollen broadcloth, a common, tough commodity in England, Wales and Man and that this fabric, once dyed black, was widely perceived as appropriate for clerical wear. Colour and style of garments were probably active in distinguishing post-Reformation clergy from laity. In Ballaugh most eighteenth-century families made woollen clothing for their own use (Wilks 1774: 1), but those who worked on the land would have perceived black as an impracticable colour because it would have required considerable time-consuming maintenance to keep in good condition. Whatever garments were made from, they were once expected to last a lifetime and longer, even within upper-class families. In 1702 Thomas Cowley of Ballaugh left his hat, breeches and a pair of stockings to his sister's son even though the family had considerable assets of 'houses and lands' (MNH EPR). In 1729 Rector Walker of Ballaugh left his coat, vest and second-best hat to a colleague and his second-best cassock to another (ibid.). His bequests to colleagues actively expressed empathy that expectations for clergymen to dress to certain standards represented a distressingly prohibitive outlay, particularly to prospective ministers and those of the lowest ranks.

Although medieval surplices were outer garments made from wool, all sources considered implied that after the Reformation clerical surplices were usually made of linen. Those undertaking the protracted exhausting work of growing and processing flax into linen for small but necessary reward must have had very different perceptions of this commodity from those of the purchasers and users of the finely-woven and maintained linen from which, for example, the Castletown surplices in use between 1705 and 1765 were made (Stott 2009).

Flax grew to a height of well over a metre and so quickly it could be harvested within a month of being sown, but was considerably more demanding of human activity in preparing the fibres for spinning. Linen cloth was brown. Bleaching by sunlight may have taken several months (Bryson 2011: 534-5). In 1677 William Bridson of Castletown left £4-09-00 worth of flax in his will which

was by far his most valuable legacy out of a total of goods worth £12-11-06 (MNH EPR), implying the centrality of flax production to some seventeenth-century Manx household economies. A number of other sources supported this proposition.

As early as 1577, Manx parishioners paid their tithes in flax and flax seed (Gumbley 2003: 37, Bray 2005: 67). In 1681 visitor Thomas Denton noticed an 'abundance of fflax [...]' in the fields and a 1692 Act of Tynwald allowed for the development of linen manufacture in the Island (Dickinson 1996: 83). Items made from Manx linen were advertised in Whitehaven shops after 1750 (Robinson, 1998: 63). Feltham thought linen produced in the Island was 'particularly well manufactured [...]' (1798: 57) although he did not explain why he thought so. James Wilks when describing Ballaugh in 1774 wrote '[...] every family mostly manufactures their own Linen [*sic*] [...]' (1). John Warwick Smith painted the bleaching process on the shores of the Laxey River when he visited the Island in 1795 (Figure 122). Maybe this was his perception of a typically Manx landscape but he revealed the large size of this industry. Feltham noted the presence of three flax mills in the parish of Malew (1798: 243) and the continued export of linen woven in the Island (ibid: 57, 80). The language of his account of his visit to Laxey (ibid: 243) implied a perception that the processes involved were romantic aspects of Manx culture that his English upper-class audience might enjoy reading about:

> [...] winding up the romantick river, whoſe ſides are adorned with countleſs yards of bleaching cloth, and at intervals groupes of females tread the cloth in the ſtream, and ſit around cauldrons boiling the cloth with kelp; the cloth covers a great ſpace, and is kept down on the ſurface with large pebbles; they bleach tolerably white, [...]

Although his description indicated he had an eye for detail that has contributed to this research, the style of his remarks revealed lack of empathy for those of the lower classes or much insight into their probable living conditions. Together his tale and Smith's painting did represent the intensive labour and large numbers of people involved even though the long, uncomfortable, wet processes, cold climate and poor transport systems they had to deal with were not portrayed by either idealistic image.

The importation of flax and linen via the port of Derbyhaven near Castletown between 1703 and 1733 was recorded in ingates and outgates (MNH Cus R.), as was

the receipt of fine linen between 1709 and 1735 in the CRP (Stott 2009). Shipping merchants probably perceived this and the importation of associated equipment as potentially lucrative business. Importation of foreign linen may even have been a smuggling opportunity until the 1765 Revestment, after which strict English customs restraints which were active in severely restricting the commercial efforts of the Manx soon became visible in the rapid deterioration of the Castletown chapel-of-ease.

Linen was a readily accessible commodity in Man and most early-modern parochial surplices were probably made from locally-produced linen, although no materials or sources were discovered that clarified this definitively. Once flax was woven into linen, and surplices constructed from that material, its meaning may have changed. Even though every church had been required to own surplices since 1555 (Bray 1998: 713), little evidence was found that any religious meaning attributed to their use during liturgical discourses was perceived to have applied to the actual material, although their form was sometimes used to represent the power of the Church. Clergy were specifically prohibited from assigning sanctity or religious merit to clerical clothing worn when not participating at services (ibid: 369), so there probably was no official bar to domestic re-use of such potentially useful material.

Some considered the considerable amount of linen in each surplice as a valuable commodity. At Little Ilford in England four surplices were stolen in 1551 as was another surplice in South Weald in 1552 (Duffy 2005: 488), presumably destined for resale for domestic use. Apparel could easily be cut up so that the origins of remodelled items became unrecognizable.

Others attributed further meaning to bleached linen once it had been made into surplices. Official insistence on the use of surplices perpetuated a successful tradition. The wearing of white surplices as costumes by the clergy replicated dramatic Catholic liturgies that would actively have appealed to the senses and suggested the pure mystery of the super-human. The chiaroscuro created by candlelight on a surpliced individual performing from a raised pulpit or altar to those seated as around a stage must have added to the sense of theatre and the surreal, even if this was unwitting on the part of the actors involved. Robert Herrick, who lived in Devon in the seventeenth century, published a book of poems in 1648 that depicted the author ‘as a Roman poet in a mythological landscape’, meant to represent the Laudian Church in its references to altars, ritualism and liturgical terminology. One

poem referred to the putting on of 'pure Surplices', which may have expressed a contemporary ideal of the 'natural and proper place in the daily conduct of life' of such rituals (Parry 2006: 145-7).

In the Castletown chapel the chaplains wore more elegant garments than the parochial clergy just because the Lord of Man rather than the congregation funded their acquisition and maintenance. Surely the Castletown surplices, probably in the contexts of attendance at services of the Bishop in freshly laundered rochet, uniformed soldiers and grandly-dressed merchants, contributed actively to the sensory experiences of the ordinary townspeople who attended services in the chapel there, although feelings engendered were probably not altogether devotional.

The eighteenth-century surplice found was once used in Somerset. Photographs (Figure 123) revealed that a large amount of linen was needed to make each garment. This must have been perceived of as a business opportunity in rural communities.

The Castletown surplices were made from imported linen, suggesting perceptions there that the local product was of lower quality. Even though Phillip Cowley's 1690 will listed a fine linen loom gear (MNH EPR, Kirk Michael), which implied he was making or learning to weave fine linen in the Island around that time, Wilks (1774: 1) suggested that most was still coarse. The use of imported linen to make the surplices for the 1701 Castletown chapel in 1706, 1735 and 1755 (Stott 2009) did indicate that locally-produced linen was not thought grand enough for use there, maybe because of its quality but more probably just because it was produced in the Island. Materials 'attained by the conquest of distance, obstacles and difficulties' became steeped in prestige (Jackson 2004: 170) and were apparently perceived to represent the Lord of Man's status and largess more appropriately. There was an apparent complete lack of awareness by those with high social and economic capital of the impact on the local economy of the importation of French and Irish linen that reflected the wide social gap and absence of empathy between Castletown consumers and Manx producers.

Twenty-seven yards of French cloth were purchased to make a single surplice for use in the Castletown chapel in 1706 (Stott 2009). A 'slatt' of raw unidentified cloth was approximately twenty to twenty-three inches wide (Dickinson 1996: 268) suggesting this may have been a standard Manx measurement, but twenty-seven

yards of fabric at even this width was surely a considerable outlay for one garment seeing the contemporary production processes involved.

The Somerset surplice sourced did imply geographically wider expectations for full garments that were probably worn over normal clothing, maybe, in the contexts of the damp northern British climate and probable lack of heating in churches, over outdoor clothing.

Clergymen who had been taught they were socially superior to the masses were required to wear garments which, when supplied in the rural Manx parishes anyway, probably did not reflect those perceptions. Although the quality of the linen the surplices they wore were made of is unknown because that was never recorded in the VRs, it was probably poor. Conventionally, prestigious items were listed. Manx linen was once considered inexpensive. '[...] the cheapness of Cloath, both Woolen and Linnen [...]' noted at the 1667 Tynwald Court apparently justified the fixation of low wages (Gumbley 2003: 105). Wilks' statements above, and the one coarse, grey item of eighteenth-century hand-woven linen discovered in the Manx Museum, suggested the parochial surplices were of basic quality, although accepted as a necessary outlay because parishioners had no choice but to supply a surplice for use in their church, even if, as will be shown, it may seldom have been worn. Although one might picture early modern Manx parochial surplices that had been stored in the parish chest as creased, a bit the worse for wear from insects and rodents, slightly grey, and rust-marked, the effort gone into making and bleaching the probably-large amount of fabric required to make each garment must have been considerable in the context of the poor living conditions most Manx agricultural workers endured. Parishioners knew the hard work that went into producing linen, and may have resented the necessity of supplying this commodity to be made into a surplice, thus depriving the producer of fabric that could have been used for other more practical purposes, or as a source of income. On the other hand, sources showed the parochial surplices were not replaced often (Table 37), even in the context of the poor care and storage often reported in VRs, so parochial responsibility for their supply may have been a minor inconvenience. However, variations from parish to parish in when and how often relevant information was recorded meant interpretations were not definitive. Although some conclusions could be drawn from information gathered there was not a single year when it could be shown without doubt what was in place in every church.

Table 37:

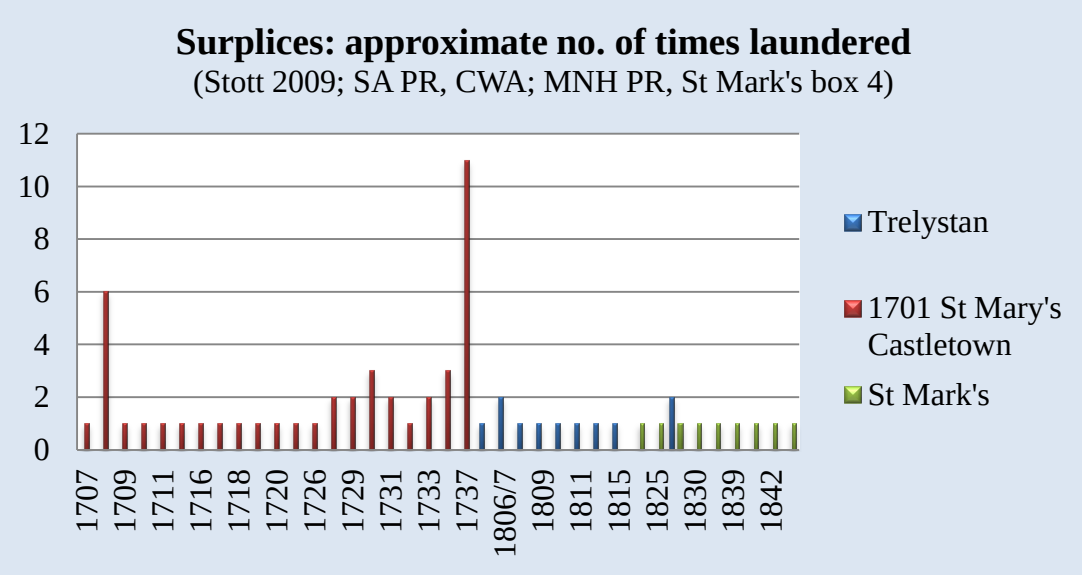
Surplices: condition

(L[L]GC, MNH, and SA VRs and PR; PR St Mark's; MNH EPR)

date	K Malew	Ballaugh	Castletown	St Mark's	Llansantffraid	Trelystan
1634	surplice in use	-	-	n/a	-	-
1663	In Man: 'I hope also to find you all [...] in your surplices [...]' (MNH EPR, Barrow)					
1665	no surplice	surplice in use	unknown	n/a		
1709			new	n/a		
1719	'a surplice'	'a surplice'		n/a		
1729				n/a	2	
1733			new	n/a		
1742/9		'good'		n/a	2	
				n/a		
1751/8	old/tattered		new	n/a	2	
1766	'tolerable'	ordered to provide a new surplice		n/a		
1772				new		
1780/2	'good order'		'in repair'	'good'		
1786/9		'in repair'				new
1806/10					2	new
1822				'not in good order'		
1823				new		
1830/5	'tolerable'	'good order'	new	new		
1845/6		new				
1878			new			
1882	new					
1897-1903				'no surplices'		
1918				'no surplices'		
1918						no surplice

If the quality of the linen used to make the Castletown surplices between 1706 and 1755 was higher than that of the locally-produced product, then the Revestment probably imposed a change of practice in Man because of newly-imposed and policed import duties. The CRP implied that changes had already taken place earlier, when the 2nd Duke of Atholl succeeded to the Lordship in 1735 because it seemed he was less generous than his cousin in funding laundry costs (Table 41) and only approved the purchase fourteen yards of linen for the new surplice needed in 1755 (Stott 2009). His actions probably meant that this surplice was not quite as active in depicting the clergy as high status to viewers as its predecessors had been.

Table 38:



The 3rd Duke of Atholl's patronage of that chapel ended abruptly in 1765. In the context of the relatively long life of linen garments indicated in the VRs, the surplice made for the Castletown chapel in 1755 may have lasted a considerable time. The next purchase of linen for this chapel was surely after the Revestment, maybe of locally-woven linen. This may have coincided with the replacement of the 1701 chapel in 1826 when one might have expected a change in local paradigms, related to a large influx of English names. But these were people taking advantage of business opportunities who probably shared perceptions that use of a 'country' product was unsuitable in what once again became a commercial centre in the Island. Although no records relating to the surplices used in this building were discovered,

maybe the prestigious congregation, who by this time must have funded supply and maintenance of the chapel surplice because they financed the building of the nave (MNH DD, box 98), also paid for a more impressive product for their surplice. The reduced amount of information found at this later date also suggested more ready access to fabrics produced elsewhere and maybe that lower costs were involved. In the contexts of the commercial occupations of the townspeople and church seating arrangements where they vied with each other socially, this community was surely motivated, and active. They had access to the resources of money and transport systems to facilitate use of high quality imported textiles to be made into surplices for use by their chaplain. Also, by this time technical advances may have facilitated local production of linen of a high enough quality to meet the expectations of the town's business community. It was almost a century before this building and its congregation became an integral part of the Manx parochial system when it was granted parish church status. In the context of the popularity of ecclesiological ideas by that time, the clergy in the other Manx parish churches may have been wearing surplices similar to those worn in the Castletown chapel, which therefore probably lost any specific activity that might have implied its superiority.

The eighteenth-century Manx cotton industry never became so successful, despite the ready supply of water power available in the Island. The new export rules imposed at the Revestment meant it could not be economically viable, evidenced in the disappearance of the Delaprime cotton manufacturers near Castletown, not long after the inception of their business before the end of the century. Although cotton was apparently beyond the means of most for a time, the surplice acquired in St Mark's in 1823 was made of cotton (MNH PR, St Mark's box 4), so cotton must have become more easily available by then, seeing it was purchased by such a small, rural community. By that date it may even have been bought ready-made from a catalogue. Ecclesiastical outfitters were established by the nineteenth century (Watts and Co.).

Maintenance of surplices

Difficulties in overcoming storage problems in a damp climate must once have been almost insurmountable in the face of requirements to ensure surplices were kept undamaged and clean (Bray 1998: 713). The dearth of very early parish registers

and other official documentation were surely related to the non-survival of even a single early modern Manx surplice as evidence of materials and styles once used, because documents and vestments were probably stored in similar conditions. The material liturgical arrangements in all the churches and chapels studied indicated an English influence which suggested the form of surplices used in the Island and in the Welsh churches may not have been very dissimilar from the eighteenth-century surplice discovered in the Norwich museum.

Early eighteenth-century Ormskirk CWA listed details of the employment of women to mend and wash their surplices (Ockenden 1996: 73). The frequency surplices were washed was also visible in the Trelystan PRs (Table 38). The costs involved were shared alternately between the two townships of Trelystan and Leighton. The separate accounts kept suggested those involved had long perceived themselves as two communities, which may be one reason why the new chapel eventually built in Leighton was designated parish church status soon afterwards.

Visitation returns indicated that Manx parishioners were also responsible for the funding and maintenance of surplices which must have been a considerable drain on parochial budgets. Although on a different scale, the dilapidated condition the Malew and Ballaugh naves were periodically reported to have been in (MNH VR) suggested how un-empowered parishioners were.

The Archdeacon's prescription to Santan churchwardens near Castletown in 1757 when he found their surplice 'foul and dirty' to ensure it was washed quarterly (ibid.) inferred infrequent wear, low aesthetic standards, and parochial inactivity. Storage facilities must have been poor. Maybe social perceptions of priorities precluded the frequent washing of surplices. Maybe resources in willingness and/or materials like soap or money to pay someone to carry out such tasks were not available.

Early modern surplices were replaced infrequently. It was not possible to relate new acquisitions with new posts or buildings, the implication being surplices were passed from incumbent to incumbent and were perceived as belonging to congregations rather than incumbents. For instance the new Castletown chapel was consecrated in 1701 but the first record of a new surplice supplied for use there was in 1706, suggesting the surplice once used in the medieval chapel was transferred over, although interpretation of records of new acquisitions was tricky because

information found seldom matched from church to church, so may not have been comparable.

To the ordinary Castletown townspeople the fine imported linen from which the surplices for use in their chapel were fashioned and then maintained to a high standard at the Lord's expense until at least 1735 (Stott 2009) was probably perceived as an entrepreneurial opportunity. Economic constraints apparently experienced elsewhere in the Island did not apply to Castletown where women were paid to launder the surplices and other altar linen frequently between 1705 and1755 (Table 40).

The CRP and Trelystan CWA (SA PR) recorded something about shared perceptions between congregations in Wales, and in Man, of the importance of certain events during the liturgical year. The surplices were often washed in the spring, apparently in preparation for Easter, although this may also have been for practicable considerations related to their condition after long, damp winters, or better springtime drying weather. It was not always clear from accounts kept how often the surplices concerned were washed, but sometimes entries were much more specific. For instance the CRP showed that in 1737 Elizabeth Wilson was paid 13s in February for washing '[...] the surplus belonging to Castletown Chappell 11 times' (Stott 2009) suggesting greater than usual attention had been given to the standard of clerical dress during 1736. Indeed the 2nd Duke of Atholl succeeded to the Lordship of Man then, implying some anxiety by officials in the Island as to his expectations. But the apparent lack of funding for any laundry after 1737 suggested the new Lord was not very interested in what went on in the Castletown chapel. The implied withdrawal of resources must have impacted markedly onto the women who had enjoyed this source of income for over thirty years and, in conjunction with the less voluminous garment in use after 1755, probably onto the visual quality of subsequent services in the Castletown chapel.

Parochial records revealed that Trelystan and St Mark's communities funded the maintenance of their surplices formally. Churchwardens' accounts from Ormskirk Church recorded the repair and replacement of surplices there (Ockenden 1996: 55). Practice in Trelystan was probably influenced by what took place in its parish church at Worthen and, although its remote location may have discouraged close hierarchical supervision, the records kept about the laundering of their surplices suggested local pride and congregational activity. The Ormskirk accounts

named the women who carried out this work as did the CRP about such activities in Castletown. So, although in Man in the context of how the parochial surplices were cared for, practice in the Castletown chapel between 1706 and 1735 was extraordinary, in the contexts of, albeit later, practices in Trelystan and Ormskirk, it was less so. And from around 1735, some of the material differences between clerical dress during services held in Castletown and those held elsewhere in the Island, although not erased, probably became diffused.

Clerical dress as evidence of social status

From 1555 Anglican clergymen were required to dress according to their office to distinguish them from laity (Bray 1998: 721, 723). Soon regulations went so far as to recommend that they should not even wear light-coloured stockings in public (ibid: 369). Presumably light-coloured meant natural un-dyed fabrics in varying shades of cream and brown, perhaps bleached during long use outdoors, implying wear by low status manual workers. But as late as 1761 Bishop Hildesley still thought Manx clergy lax in distinguishing themselves from the laity in dress even apparently, when going about their official duties and meeting with officials (Bray 2005: 256-7). In 1769 Philip Moore, Chaplain of St Matthew's Chapel in Douglas, complained of difficulties he had meeting these obligations within his salary. Bray wrote that repeated prescriptions eventually brought about changes in practice, even though local clergy thought them unnecessary most of the time (2005: 13), presumably because they were known in their small communities and did not feel the need to identify themselves by their dress. Their lack of perception that their occupation raised their social capital was not shared by their employers.

Responses to the texture, design and colour of textiles were learned, which surely applied to surplices, especially during services. Parishioners were taught from birth that different styles of clothing had different meanings. This probably had particular relevance when the majority of the Manx were illiterate. The clerical surplices may have been perceived as part of the mystique and an outward sign of those who were in receipt of knowledge and designated power far beyond anything the illiterate could aspire to.

Someone had to deal with the poor, illnesses, deaths and other social issues which could strike at any time and often did so, as evidenced in the registers and

graveyards, but it may have been difficult for ordinary people to differentiate between who had authority and who did not. On 15 February 1661 Jo Kewley's child was buried and the mother churched by Edward Brew, who was the parish clerk, not the vicar (MNH PR, Kirk Malew Mixed Register). Either the parishioners did not know he did not have the authority to do this, or they did not care, perhaps supported by the fact that the vicar must have condoned the act, because it was recorded in the register and not carried out surreptitiously. Maybe such practices had been allowed during the Commonwealth. But the entry did indicate why the hierarchy encouraged Manx clergy to distinguish themselves from the laity by their dress, especially at a time before they were usually graduates.

Clothing was central in portraying Devereux Jarratt's elevation from farm boy to rector in colonial America (Schmidt 1989: 39). As part of his preparation to gain entrance to Castletown Grammar School to train for the Manx priesthood in 1818 John Clarke purchased a 'new set of clothes' (1817-20: 34). Although he was not specific about what he bought, in the context of the constrained family budget depicted in his journal, it seemed unlikely that Clarke just kitted himself out with new school clothes. Rather he probably dressed from then on in black according to shared perceptions that his social role had changed. There was a practicable aspect, particularly for novice clergymen. Wearers could hide behind the armour of the easily-recognizable authority of corporate social dress, which was really an early form of uniform. During a period when social structures were strict and considered important, as clearly implied in the material seating arrangements inside churches, dress reiterated one's capital status. Ecclesiastical authorities prescribed that clergymen were to be perceived as of higher social status than those they taught, and distinctive clothing re-enforced this, whatever the financial or educational status of those involved. Appropriate dress defined the structure, definition and preservation of social order.

In nineteenth century England, curate Amos Barton was 'obliged always to exhibit himself when outside his own door in a suit of black broadcloth such as will not undermine the foundations of the Establishment [...] ' (Eliot 1856): 5, 6). In 1913 Parry-Jones had the required frock-coat suit made and purchased a round collar and pancake hat before he began his career as a clergyman (1975: 10) in Wales. Although the time-scale of these sources revealed changed clerical dress requirements around the *fin-de-siècle* because Parry-Jones regretted the demise of

the cravat worn formerly by clergy but commented that the round collar represented them more specifically, the earlier required style of dress was probably more closely associated with class than profession. Oxford and Cambridge offered the same education to prospective clergymen as they did to other undergraduates (Collins 1994: 39).

However, the social implications of dressing differently from ordinary people may have sat uncomfortably with the need for many early modern parochial clergy to supplement their incomes with labour on the land or other practical work that linked them more closely with the working class than with the elite. Manx Bishop Barrow was horrified to discover that the vicar of Kirk Malew supplemented his low stipend by selling beer and 'keeping victualizing Houses' (MNH PR, Kirk Malew 1667). Many English churches also had a glebe which was for the incumbent's benefit (Collins, 1994: 52), whether to be farmed or let out to supplement his stipend. Practicality in the context of dress requirements surely favoured the latter.

There was some distrust of those who distinguished themselves by wearing black. A Mrs Robinson of Castletown was presented for saying that if a man wore a black coat 'he could hardly be an honest man' (MNH EPR 1637), possibly implying this distinguishing mark was analogous with the occupation of clergyman and that others did not wear black clothing. That this case was actually taken to court and Mrs Robinson required to repent publically suggested perceptions by contemporary ecclesiastical authorities of the need for a strict social division between classes and/or clergy and laity, concerns that this challenged prevalent social order and maybe that they perceived the necessity for employing non-graduate clergy in Man then as a threat to the stability of this system. Mrs Robinson's distrust may have been more of incomers than of clergy in general, because not all clergy raised in the Island complied with episcopal expectations that their dress reflect their profession. In 1665 Arbory churchwardens said their vicar John Crellin's dress was 'but baire, though grave; and according to the country, and the colour poore' [*sic*] (MNH EPR). Of course at this date his attire may have reflected Puritan impositions during the Commonwealth, but apparently there were still hierarchical concerns about the Manx clergy's reluctance to distinguish themselves by their dress in 1761 (Bray 2005: 256), so this probably reflected the longer-lived local puritan convention visible in Manx ecclesiastical material culture.

Another issue was clerical dress during services. Although from 1555 every church was required to be 'properly' furnished with 'two sets of sacred vestments [...]' (ibid. 1998: 713), the Manx VRs from 1634, in which churchwardens were asked specifically about the possession of a single surplice, indicated that in Man there was only a requirement to have one. This was probably because few curates were appointed in Man in the early modern period, reflecting the lack of non-resident Manx clergy. This reduced requirement in the Isle of Man was also interesting because, although the wearing of a surplice in early-modern times was associated in England, at least officially, with the academic nature of the wearer's occupation, this could not apply in the Isle of Man because of the requirement that Manx clergy be natives, and the absence in Man of a university. So the wearing of surplices by ordinary early-modern Manx clergymen was not usually related to academic achievement, but likely instead to have been perceived as a badge of office, and a way of distinguishing the sacramental role of clergy from their pastoral roles within communities.

Clerical surplices were not practical garments, and in that context portrayed social and theological differences between the clergy and the people. Dressing impracticably was a way of showing that one did not have to do physical work (Bryson 2011: 538) so enjoyed high social capital, and although medieval surplices were capacious outer-garments that kept priests warm, once they were made of linen clearly this was no longer their purpose. They had to be roomy enough to be worn over other garments but were not designed to be worn when carrying out any but ceremonial tasks.

In England and Wales most non-graduate clergy were employed as curates on low stipends. This may have been why, for instance, the chaplain of St Mark's, John Clarke, remained in that post for thirty-seven years in the nineteenth century despite the fact that he was a highly esteemed linguist and Classical scholar (Clarke 1899: 8). By then many of his colleagues were graduates. In the context of hierarchical emphasis on social and professional status, that Clarke was probably the first clergyman in his farming family may have held his professional progress up. Even when he emigrated to Wales in his late sixties he did not achieve vicar status until two years before his death at the age of ninety, apparent evidence of a widely-accepted inflexible social system supported by the Church that stifled the activities of individuals.

Despite the connection made between the wearing of surplices and graduate status, no evidence was found that non-graduate clergy were discouraged from wearing surplices. This reflected the earlier convention of referring to non-graduate clergy in Man by the title 'Sr' [Sir] (MNH PR, Kirk Malew 1659 and 1684) and 'Domin' [*Dominus*] (ibid., Arbory 1662) even though *Dominus illuminatio mea* [The Lord is my light], the motto of Oxford University, implied graduate status granted by that institution. Richard Thompson, a rare graduate priest in Man was referred to correctly as 'Mr', which represented his actual Master of Arts status (Chaloner 1656: 7). Along with impractical, expensive dress requirements, such references must have put considerable pressure onto rural clergy to live in a style similar to that enjoyed by laymen with higher social and economic status, which may have had the consequence of isolating them socially from both groups.

The Manx parochial clergy seemed to reject this social model because they maintained links with the wider population by their dress and reluctance to wear surplices, actively revealing their shared culture. There was probably a greater social gap between Islanders and outsiders than between the literate and illiterate natives who shared non-graduate status and use of vernacular language which excluded the English.

Circumstances perhaps also facilitated closer links between laity and clergy in Man than in mid-Wales just because of the small size of the Diocese. Wherever Manx-born clerics were assigned they were always within walking distance of family and childhood acquaintances so must have found it difficult, or impossible, to maintain the required position of 'otherness.' Clarke wrote about walking almost the length of the Island to visit his family at the beginning of the nineteenth-century (1817-20: 72). That may not have been possible in Wales, and its proximity to the border with England was also always a draw with the prospect of promotion for those who spoke English.

However devotional practice also informed a strict social system in Man, as was clear in parochial seating arrangements. Despite the plainness of Manx Anglican interiors and the ambivalence between naves and chancels noted earlier, the visibility of numerous Nonconformist chapels in the Manx landscape showed the popularity, from the end of the eighteenth century, of that socially less-structured style of worship. Nonconformist ministers never wore surplices during services, which may have reflected non-judgemental perceptions, but also implied in the free

seating available within Nonconformist chapels. Welsh communities embraced these ideas earlier than in Man, which may have contributed to the eventual disestablishment of the Welsh Church in 1920.

The Manx Church was a long tried and tested mechanism for the maintenance of public order. The authority of the Anglican hierarchy must have depended a great deal on *habitus* and shared perceptions of the relevance of strict social rules. Clerical authority was borrowed by secular authorities in Castletown in 1722 when tensions arose between the Governor and Bishop Wilson about who had ultimate authority to appoint the Chaplain. When the Governor locked the Bishop and his chosen candidate out of the chapel and confiscated the key and surplice (MNH DD, Castletown 1725) these items actively signalled his authority to do so, and his high social position. The conundrum for the townspeople must have been whose authority that surplice represented but, although not worn by a clergyman, it evidently was perceived as actively representing the power of its holder because the chapel remained closed for three and a half years until this dispute was resolved. Perceptions about clerical dress in Castletown probably differed from elsewhere in the Island because clerical officials there were more likely to have been senior, to have been sympathetic to English rulings, and, via their secular patron the Lord of Man, to have had access to funding and other resources that facilitated hierarchical expectations.

The concern that continued to be raised periodically in Man about clerical dress probably reflected lack of harsh censure in Man for minor infringements of dress rules. After all, the single Bishop and his small number of ecclesiastical officials were geographically isolated, and sometimes in conflict with secular authorities over the relatively *longue durée* before control of family law became part of secular jurisdiction, so a popular uprising against ecclesiastical requirements surely would have been successful. For instance Bishop Murray found it impossible to impose a potato tithe in 1826 (Gelling 1998: 53-4). However, the success of ecclesiastical governance was evidenced by the continued centrality of the Church of England to Manx community life until well into the nineteenth century.

The pictures of the St Mark's and Cronk-y-Voddy Chaplains (Figures 124, 125) in their surplices at informal local events implied both may have minded their lowly chaplain status and emphasized that their social status was higher than that of the local people to bolster their self-esteem. Chaplain of St Mark's Rev. Holmes was

not a graduate (Crockford 1921-22: 728), perhaps surprising because his father was also a clergyman. The annually published Crockford Directories containing updates of Anglican clergymen in-post were compiled carefully and although the numbers of clergy and detail involved did allow for inaccuracies noted by the author on more than one occasion, it seemed likely that this late edition of Holmes' details had corrected any possible earlier errors. Maybe his lack of degree was why he was employed as a chaplain in Man rather than a vicar, although the Manx post may have reflected his recent ordination in 1897. Later he was employed as a vicar of an English parish (ibid), evidence that even in England at the beginning of the twentieth century not all clergy were graduates. Figures 124 and 125 indicated that the wearing of surplices was still a convention rather than evidence of graduate status as late as 1900.

Manx clergy were required to attend annual Tynwald Day ceremonies in their 'proper habit and garb' (Bray 2005: 256). The Governor and Members of the Keys were accompanied at Tynwald by 'three clerks [priests] in their ſurplices' (Chaloner, 1656: 17). This probably represented religious tradition more than Manx culture. Walker's (1729) and others' wills indicated Manx upper classes dressed like the English but lower down the social scale they did not (MNH EPR). Feltham (1798: 134) noted that they admired English fashions, but that women 'of the lower claſſes' went bare-footed 'except on particular occaſions', and that the men wore un-tanned leather sandals or 'kerranes' (ibid: 135-6). When Train (1845: 104) visited the IOM in 1836 he observed the same practice in rural areas. The centrality of the Church to Insular governance ensured continued compliance with the requirement for clergy to wear a surplice at official events (Figure 126), even if repeated instructions at Convocations for clergy to distinguish themselves by their dress suggested some reluctance to do so. Ecclesiologist Neale (1848: 43), who attended Tynwald celebrations that same year, was scandalized when the clergy 'threw off their vestments the moment the meeting was over as if glad to get rid of them the very moment they were not absolutely needed.'

Theological considerations

It was accepted that clerical dress was a significant part of Anglican liturgical arrangements, and that relationships were formed between textiles and those present

during liturgical discourses. The active nature of all those material arrangements was recognized in that not only had spaces, furnishings and clerical apparel been planned, made, used, looked after and sometimes abandoned by people but how individuals and groups interacted with them and with each other at different stages in each material's life were particularly evident at times of change.

In 1555 English Puritans objected to the requirement that clergy wear surplices (Livingstone 2006: 437). 'In 1563, during a stormy debate in convocation, more members of the Lower House pressed for the abolition of the surplice' Ockenden (1996: 25-26). This motion was narrowly defeated and all parochial clergy were told to wear surplices but many parishioners objected (Underdown 1992: 20). The situation was probably exacerbated because dissidents were still required to attend Church of England services, despite their puritan convictions.

Duffy suggested that others such as church officials considered surplices like those also worn by parish clerks and choirs (2005: 474), as one of 'the bare essentials for worship defined in the prayer-book [...]' (ibid: 477). John Burges, a Cambridge graduate, was 'ejected from one parish for refusing to wear the surplice' (ibid: 25) and other English clergymen who refused to wear a surplice were also deprived of their livings. It was clear surplices had many meanings. In 1603 the Puritans reiterated their concerns about the need for specific clerical dress requirements to James I in their Millenary Petition in which they asked that the preaching skills of the clergy be prioritised above the social differences between the clergy and laity (Bray 1998: 817-18). The King was apparently unsympathetic to these ideas, and prescribed that college masters and students continue to wear surplices during religious services (ibid: 287) 'at the times both of prayer and preaching' (ibid: 297), every minister being required to 'wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves' during religious services (ibid: 247- 349).

During Bishop Foster's 1634 visitations in Man the incumbent of Kirk Malew and a number of other parishes were reported to be complying with these edicts. Sadly the 1634 VR from Ballaugh has not survived the ravages of time and climate, and such early records of visitations to Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain and Trelystan were not found either. But records from other churches revealed that not everyone complied. The churchwardens at Santan near Castletown reported in 1634 that their minister only 'usually' wore his surplice, hinting that perhaps sometimes

he did not (MNH VR). Maybe shared Nonconformist leanings were the root of the reluctance of some Manx clergy to wear surplices.

In 1637 the vicar of Ormskirk was presented for not wearing his, although apparently he excused himself by saying variously that it was being washed, mended or re-made (Ockenden 1996: 25-26). The vicar of Lyddington Church in Rutland was fined and suspended in 1639 for refusing to wear his surplice (Fincham and Tyacke 2007: 208). So reluctance to wear a surplice was widely disseminated and did not disappear despite the censures imposed. Compliance with canonical requirements to dress modestly may have been perceived as an instruction to reject the use of surplices which may have been felt as too 'fancy' for Protestant worship. By 1660 English presentment records showed that many parish churches had no surplice (Fincham 2003: 37). In 1664 the churchwardens at All Saints in Dorchester were censured because they had not supplied their incumbent with a surplice, although 'they quickly remedied this' (Underdown 1992: 244). The implications were of Puritan influences during the Commonwealth and hierarchical efforts afterwards to re-establish the status quo.

This was evident in Man too. On 17 March 1663 Isaac Barrow wrote to the Manx clergy four months before he was enthroned as Bishop on 5 July saying that he hoped 'to find you all in your [...] officiating in your Surplices [...]' (MNH EPR). This seemed an odd directive if Barrow thought this was what the clergy had actually been wearing prior to his arrival. Rather it implied they probably had not been and that he was giving notice that he expected changes in practice. However, the Malew surplice was still missing two years later (ibid. 1665), which may have reflected local dissident clerical activity and self-assurance to challenge their Bishop in the context of the Island's exclusion from the 1662 Parliamentary Act of Uniformity. Some Manx clergy continued to refuse to wear a surplice, surely reflecting shared puritan paradigms. The St Mark's terrier compiled between 1897 and 1903 specifically noted 'No Surplices' (PR), implying an official expectation of their presence. Another possibility was that the parochial surplices were made from coarsely-woven off-white locally-made linen that was not perceived to represent purity and Godliness to viewers during liturgical use.

Gelling's (1998: 154) unreferenced suggestions that after 1698 the Manx custom in churches became 'to take off the surplice at the pulpit steps, put on a black gown, then put the surplice on again afterwards' gained credence from his clearly

intimate knowledge of the Manx church, the corresponding advent of Nonconformism in England and Wales, and that the Somerset surplice sourced opened down the front (NWHCM 2003:1), apparently to facilitate 'dignified' removal during services (ibid: 2).

This probably reflected the lack of vestries within which clergymen might otherwise have retired to remove their surplices. 90% of English parish churches had no vestry in 1662 (Wray 1856: 4 of 6). A vestry of unknown date was replaced in Kirk Malew *c.* 1899 (MNH DD box 103) but old Ballaugh did not acquire one until 1979 (MNH IOM DFAS forthcoming: 316).

It seemed the Manx people knew what was happening across the water and wanted to express similar views that had long formed part of their *habitus*. The absence of formal Nonconformity in Man at that time and the 'absorption of non-extreme Puritan influences' within the Manx Church (Yates et al., forthcoming: 4) continued to challenge the use of surplices, reflected in the simple liturgical arrangements within rural Manx church interiors that implied, albeit possibly reluctant, acceptance of those paradigms by the Anglican hierarchy. This ascetic trend continued even though by the end of the century Nonconformism offered opportunities for both Manx clergy and laity who objected to the use of surplices to attend services elsewhere.

In 1806, in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain churchwardens were asked if they had 'a large and fitting Surplice' for the minister to wear when he officiated in the Church and especially when he administered Holy Communion ($L^{L}GC$ VR). The implication was that there was a lesser perception on the part of the authorities that a surplice had to be worn during the delivery of sermons in at least some Welsh churches. And in Man, Alexander Gelling apparently 'wore the black gown in the pulpit' at Kirk Arbory between 1816 and 1859 (Lamothe 1905: 9 of 14). Such practices suggested continued focus of liturgies on pulpits in those two parishes, despite the fact that by the 1840s the practice of preaching in a surplice rather than in a black gown had become more prevalent in England under the influence of the Tractarians (Yates 2008: 116), although the 'Surplice Riot' held that year in Exeter (NWHCM 2003:1) indicated those ideas were not always popular.

When the vicar of Kirk Rushen in the south of the Isle of Man began to preach in a surplice after 1859 (Gelling 1998: 154, 253), this heralded compliance with the ecclesiological changes beginning to be made in Manx Anglican churches,

although apparently the Rushen congregation objected and petitioned their vicar, albeit unsuccessfully, to revert to wearing a gown rather than a surplice, whilst preaching. This suggested the probability of a more widely shared paradigm, and supported the material evidence of Manx low-church leanings.

Maybe in an attempt to stem the flow of clergy and parishioners to the Nonconformist chapels in England, Wales, and Man, the practice of preaching in a gown rather than a surplice was recognized in later Canon law, apparently reluctantly. From 1874 priests were told to wear a surplice during all rites but that if they wished they could wear only a gown with hood and scarf while preaching, although this was probably a controversial codicil to the canon (Bray 1998: 584). The vicar in Arbory followed suit sometime after 1880 (Gelling 1998: 165) which fitted more closely with the ecclesiological renovations installed in new Ballaugh and Kirk Malew around the end of the century, considerably later than those carried out in Trelystan. Although the incomplete renovations discussed in Chapter IV implied Insular reluctance to comply, the renovations carried out in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain from 1892 indicated that such late compliance was not a particularly Manx trait.

Repeated investigations at visitations to Manx parishes about the wearing of surplices suggested that religious authorities considered surplices an important item of dress, but also that this convention was probably challenged by some. No suggestion was found that the clergy who officiated in the Castletown chapels-of-ease ever forwent wearing their surplices. Although this implied their use was the convention in England, around 1871 George Eliot wrote about clergyman Casaubon preaching from the top of a triple-decker pulpit in a black gown in 1831 (1871/2: 337) and, even in 1873 and 1874 when there was material evidence of widespread acceptance of ecclesiological ideas, an Ormskirk newspaper condemned ‘such ‘Roman’ practices as wearing a surplice and facing east’ (Ockenden 1996: 27), implying there were still plenty in England who felt differently.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the way clergy dressed in England, Wales and Man helped viewers define the ‘age, social status, gender relations, and political authority’ of wearers (Schmidt, 1989: 38). Black broadcloth and snowy surplices actively reiterated

governmental support of Anglican practice and status given to clergymen. This activity extended beyond the walls of churches and chapels just because of complicity between clerical and lay hierarchies in liturgical dialogues and rituals on Sundays, on occasions that marked life's milestones and within law courts. The quality and condition of those materials informed those involved something about the authority of wearers, so moulded viewers' activities. The colour and style of outdoor apparel implied social status, but the homespun parochial surplices probably did not suggest the social division between the Manx clergy and the laity for which that garment was intended, whereas in Castletown where regularly-laundered surplices made of fine imported linen were used, this social division cannot have been in question. Even so, the donning of a surplice immediately placed the wearer outside the common crowd whether indoors or out whatever their social and economic status, just as the wearing of black did for laity of a more ascetic persuasion.

However, the lack of surplices in 1665 in Kirk Malew and nearby Arbory fitted in with earlier suggestions of material disruption within Manx churches during the Commonwealth, although apparent continued reluctance in some parishes for surplices to be worn when preaching did suggest that low-church convictions as a shared local memory were perpetuated. Apparently things changed once Nonconformism became commonplace in Man. This allowed parishioners with such convictions to be active in attending services outside the established Church which probably in turn facilitated the, albeit rather late, acceptance of limited ecclesiological practices within Anglican services, including the use of clerical surplices during the presentation of sermons.

The following chapter explores the contexts of nave furnishings for further material evidence of parochial practices and paradigms.

Chapter VIII

Nave Seating Arrangements

A Peiw is a certain place in church incompassed with wainscott, or some other thing, for several persons to sitt together (Gough 1702: 77)

This chapter considered the liturgical arrangements within the naves of the three Castletown chapels-of-ease, the chapel-of-ease at St Mark's, and their parish church Kirk Malew, in the context of other assemblages discovered, for evidence of related inter-relationships. This allowed for further investigation of the central themes of this project which, in previous chapters, deliberated on features of ecclesiastical material culture for evidence of human agency and material activity. Underdown wrote that the way seating was allocated in early modern Dorchester replicated the social structure of related communities (1992: 29-32). Others agreed. In 1631, in the parish of Carno in Montgomeryshire,

> [...] the parishioners being allocated their pews according to their tenements. Men alone were permitted to occupy the chancel seats, but women and maids who had no designated sitting sat in two common pews, while the south chapel was utilized for the tenants of the former abbey lands

(Brown 1998: 8).

In England

> The dominant, aging, male, middleing voices heard in the depositions [...] who testified on behalf of litigants in pew disputes [...] tended to confirm the criteria used by the local and ecclesiastical hierarchies in the allocation of seats in the church. These included notions of wealth and property; rank and lineage; settled residence; office holding; credit and reputation; age; and gender

Wright (2002: 182).

Characteristics of nave furnishings, in surviving arrangements and sources related to modifications made prior, during, and after the 1765 Revestment, when the Isle of Man was sold to England and the Manx economy collapsed, were analysed for evidence of human and material activity or associated tensions. This chapter strove to discover associated trends, and to find out if the material culture was always used as intended by those who granted Faculty permission for installation, or provided resources for reconstructions.

Seating arrangements before the Revestment

Prior to the Reformation the laity gathered in the naves of their parish churches, which were usually composed of a number of small chapels with few seats and little open space which prevented large numbers of people from meeting or worshipping together, evidence that services were not designed as communal affairs (Yates 2006: 24). By 1561 some English naves were pewed (Cuming 1969: 127) although Wrightson and Levine quoting from an unknown late sixteenth-century English source, suggested some people sat on 'stooles' (1979: 13). After an Insular Synod held in conjunction with a Tynwald session in 1577, Manx parishioners were reminded that they were 'bound to maintain and keep up the body of the church [nave] within and without, with all ornaments, books and other necessities;' (Bray 2005: 72) without any mention of seating, implying that maybe this was not yet a common convention in Man. However, as shown below, well within a century that was no longer the case. A 1712 English Convocation required that new churches be provided with pews (Brown 1998: 3) but many older rural Welsh churches remained pew-less for some time after that (ibid: 4), the implication being that congregational activity and their access to resources were inconsistent geographically, but that variations were accepted by those in authority.

A late sixteenth-century Dorchester clergyman taught 'Let it be our case to abide in the place [...] unto which God [...] hath assigned us [...] Those that have not abilities for government [...] may be made use of for servants' (Underdown 1992: 51), evidence of that parson's acceptance that people be judged according to their social class. Seating was allocated from at least 1617 in Holy Trinity Parish Church in Dorchester. A seating plan showed the congregation arranged according to shared perceptions of social rank and gender (ibid: 39). Underdown found little evidence of

conflict over seating but Gough (1702: 84, 92), who also noted that the pews in his parish church in Myddle reflected social precedence, told of related disputes. The strength of Gough's account as a primary source suggested that tensions were more common than Underwood discovered.

Contemporary sources also revealed considerable competition amongst Manx upper classes to display social precedence publicly, and that displays of capital status were approved by church officials. Between 1636 and 1639 (MNH EPR) there was a long dispute about the relative positions of pews in Kirk Malew allocated to the prestigious houses of Balladoole, Knock Rushen and Ronaldsway House (Figures 114-116), all situated near Castletown, even though Balladoole lay within the boundaries of the adjacent parish of Arbory and the tenant Stevenson, hardly unexpectedly, also had a prestigious pew in the chancel in Kirk Arbory. All three building structures surely actively told early-modern viewers of residents' high capital status. Balladoole and Knock Rushen have survived as evidence of previous Castletown wealth. Knock Rushen and Ronaldsway House were eventually granted precedence, but Balladoole residents were allowed to retain a pew near the prestigious east end of Kirk Malew. This suggested that Stevenson's social capital was perceived as very high indeed, although this pew may also have represented that part of his land tenancy extended into the parish of Malew. Further evidence that seating had been allocated in Kirk Malew by the early seventeenth century, was the ratification of Henry Calcott's right to occupy an unknown seat in Kirk Malew in 1637 (MNH EPR). References in both cases to 'former', 'time out of mind' and 'anciently' suggested that the seating places disputed had already been in use for a long time but none of documents associated with these cases revealed how those lower down the social scale were accommodated during seventeenth-century services in Kirk Malew.

Although few ecclesiastical records have survived about post-Reformation use of the medieval Castletown chapel, this nave was probably being maintained by the townspeople, as the 1577 law prescribed. Offenders were fined towards the repair of Casteltown Chapel between 1601 and 1610 (MNH BHC) and Cubbon noted a more general order made 'for repayringe of the Chappell of Castletown […]' in 1641 (1971: 21). The 1577 law laid responsibility for the chancel on the parson but as Malew was a Crown living, the Castletown chaplains were employed by the Lord of Man's agents.

The incumbent of Kirk Malew, the parish church, was barely able to maintain his own, let alone a second, chancel. In 1665 the chancel floor was un-flagged (MNH EPR), that is, of bare earth. The vicar apparently ran an ale-house (MNH PR, Kirk Malew 1667) to try and make ends meet.

So the Lordship, as the Crown's representative in Man, probably provided the means for the care of the medieval St Mary's chancel. But hierarchical changes at the end of the seventeenth century contributed to the material alterations that then took place in Castletown. After Thomas Wilson became Bishop in 1698 after a five year episcopal interregnum, medieval St Mary's was abandoned as a chapel. Soon afterwards in 1702 the 9th Earl of Derby died and was succeeded by his brother whose patronage extended to the nave in the replacement Castletown chapel from 1704. This practice was perpetuated by his successor the 2nd Duke of Atholl, as recorded in the CRP between 1704 and 1765 (Stott 2009). The Lord of Man's patronage of the whole 1701 building even though it had always been intended for public worship (MNH DD box 98) implied the nave in the medieval chapel may have been poorly maintained. 1601-1610 presentation records (MNH Bridge House Collection) and another from 1637 (MNH EPR, Castletown) indicate that miscreants were fined towards the maintenance of this building, implying that upkeep may have been beyond the means of the townspeople. It seemed a neglected nave was perceived as not reflecting the Lordship of Man appropriately. Earl James' patronage from 1705 reflected the inability of the townspeople to access the resources required for the upkeep of their new nave to his expectations.

After all, that was also the case in Kirk Malew, where 'most of the Pews in the Church (particularly Jo Harrisons & Partners) want repairing, the forms being broken [...]' (MNH EPR, 1698). William Bridson's and William Gollin's inability or unwillingness to repair their shared seat (ibid. 1699) clearly represented wider congregational inactivity. Surely the poor condition of much seating in Kirk Malew recorded between 1665 (ibid. 1665) and 1757 (MNH VR) reflected the living conditions of that community. Three wills recorded *c.* 1637 by Malew curate Thomas Parre (MNH EPR) supported ideas that the standard of living for many in the parish was basic. William Vorrey junior left one iron pot to his brother and only cited possession of a further four wooden dishes, one pan mug and one basin. An inventory of Catherine Quirk's belongings listed just two blankets, one petticoat and one waistcoat. Edmond Shimmin's effects were limited to half an old cow, half a

blanket and half an ‘old little horse’, and he owed 12 shillings. However, concerns by a wealthy landlord that the community would not maintain the nave to a standard that adequately reflected his social capital were not unique to Castletown, where public use of its chapel-of-ease was evidenced in the marriages that took place in that building in 1675 and 1678 (MNH PR, Kirk Malew).

A century and three-quarters later, the patron of Leighton Chapel in mid-Wales which was also used by the local community, ensured that the liturgical arrangements in that chancel and nave reflected his considerable social and economic status publicly (PR, Leighton 1853). For instance seating was arranged so that those sitting in the family pew could see who of their employees attended services and the choir stalls faced that family pew instead of being positioned so the choir could support congregational hymn singing and corporate recitation of responses and psalms (field visit).

On the other hand, early use of quality wooden items in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain implied long access by the parishioners in that parish to considerable resources in timber and workmanship. Much old wood has survived, so the townspeople must have actively protected their wooden furnishings from the ravages of climate and infestation. However, few liturgical arrangements there survived *in situ*, suggesting that community could afford renovations.

In contrast, in Kirk Malew the seating installed between 1781 and 1830 has remained *in situ*, not as evidence of skilled workmanship, but of careful preservation, probably reflecting difficulties in accessing wood in the Island, and related perceptions of even pine as a valuable commodity. This was unsurprising in the context of Englishman Thomas Denton’s (1681: 2 of 5) account of his visit to the Isle of Man in which he noted the absence of trees, and evidence, in 1698, of the poor occupying broken benches supported only by ‘great stones’ in Kirk Malew (MNH EPR). The new pews installed in Kirk Malew in 1781 were probably perceived as precious belongings despite their utilitarian forms.

Readier access to wood in mid-Wales surely facilitated very different views of their early modern nave furnishings. Even in Trelystan Chapel where ‘no inhabitants of superior rank’ (SA VR 1792) lived or apparently contributed to the maintenance of that building, there was evidence of woodworking activity and associated civic pride. Several desk-ends were decorated with poppy-head finials. Other decorated old wood was salvaged and re-used (field visits). Although the

simply decorated desks and associated benches in Trelystan were not *in situ* thus reducing their worth as evidence, their form in the context of the plainer 1856 seating arrangements in the nave did suggest modern loss of early modern skills. The rustic carvings in the medieval chancel screen also suggested long access to quality timber and skilled wood carvers as well as continued local appreciation for these products and skills, despite Trelystan's rural location and the low economic status of its population. The chapel's distance from even the nearest small settlement over mountainous, forested topography (SA VR 1792) and the small number of carved pieces preserved, and therefore probably created, increased the likelihood that those carvings were produced locally. Indeed the building now lies within a wood, and may always have done so.

Any concern the Lords of Man may have had about the capability of the community to maintain the Castletown nave were well-founded because Kirk Malew nave was certainly not well looked after even after 1704. In 1758 the roof leaked and the uneven floor was scattered with human bones, pieces of coffin and old rotted boards (MNH VR). This was even more shocking in the context of Kirk Malew's seniority to the Castletown chapel-of-ease and its well-maintained nave (Stott 2009), surely evidence of lack of common contemporary access to funding, manpower and materials in that parish.

Variations in how seating arrangements were recorded suggested changes in how those of different capital status interacted with each other. Gough mentioned traditional relationships between allocated church seating and landholdings when Edward Garland acquired a seat by buying the land to which it was assigned (1702: 99). Even though the 1702 seating plan for Myddle Church largely delegated this and other pews to named individuals (ibid: 82-83), the implication was that at the end of the seventeenth century in England, seats represented landholdings.

This was once the case in Man too, visible in the allocation of seating in Ballaugh entirely to landholders except when it came to the relatively newly populated intack tenancies. Although changes in seat occupation in Ballaugh would have been noticed immediately by contemporaries, they were less evident to the author because of their reference to property only. The implication was that quarterlands had long been associated with particular family names, that those associations were widely known even to contemporary officials, but that this

apparently stable connection between tenant and property did not include intacks, perhaps because of their more recent occupation.

The effects of the 1765 Revestment on Manx seating arrangements

The considerable effects of the sale of the Island to England in 1765 on the Manx economy and the financial status of residents were evident in the venues where Castletown residents chose to attend services from this date. Doubtless, associated emigration, loss of incomes when the 3rd Duke of Atholl withdrew his patronage, and traditional social practices perpetuated congregational inactivity within the Castletown chapel. In the context of successive Lords' agency as patrons in maintaining both chancel and nave, the townspeople may not even have known that the commoner convention was of congregational responsibility for upkeep of naves.

Around the same time, the seats in Kirk Malew were unexpectedly reported to be 'in good repair' (MNH VR 1766), heralding changes in that congregation's access to resources. Subsequent activity in Kirk Malew, which coincided with permission being granted to build a north transept to augment seating capacity within that building (MNH EPR 1767), suggested increased congregations once new immigrant entrepreneurs to Castletown took up business opportunities. Castletown residents were assessed along with other parishioners to cover costs (ibid.). So perceptions of relationships between Kirk Malew and its chapel-of-ease in Castletown seemed to have reverted to what was the norm elsewhere, soon after 1765. When resources available in Castletown residents were directed towards the parish church instead of the 1701 Castletown chapel, the chapel deteriorated rapidly.

The oft-repeated local myth that north transept seating was added to Kirk Malew to accommodate the Castletown garrison was strongly contradicted by the sale around 1781 of many of the new seats to Castletown residents (MNH DD, box 103). The owner of pew one, William Callow, was the first High Bailiff [civil magistrate] for Castletown. Immigrant twins Francis and Abraham Delaprime, recently arrived from Sheffield, planned to run a new cotton mill in Ballasalla near Castletown. They purchased pews two and three, suggesting the beginnings of a post-Revestment economic recovery.

Only a few years earlier, in 1772, a new chapel-of-ease was erected in the parish within the rural village of St Mark's. Contemporary parochial records

indicated this was at the request of the villagers but material changes in Kirk Malew soon afterwards, and apparent increased interest by Castletown residents in attending services in the parish church, may have facilitated the permission granted because seating in the parish church must have been at a premium for a time. It was not eased by the necessary demolition of some pews at the northeast end of the nave to make way for the new north transept (MNH PR, Kirk Malew Mixed Register 1781). The installation of utilitarian seating forms in Kirk Malew in 1781 implied a shared ascetic culture which likely reflected indigenous rather than immigrant paradigms because it was visible in other rural Manx church interiors too. Although the new north transept and chancel suggested increased access to funding soon after the Revestment, that was not reflected in the style or quality of the pews installed, which have survived. The position of one's pew was evidently perceived to have more meaning then than the quality of its construction.

In eighteenth-century England, perceptions of social standing had more to do with family background, profession, and ownership of property than income (Wrightson 1982: 22). Businessmen who came to live in the Island probably appreciated the economic constraints visible in the simple seating provided.

Unpretentious seating probably existed in Ballaugh until 1892 too, because simply-constructed pews installed around 1832 have survived in the gallery in new Ballaugh. This suggested the possible form and style of the pre-1892 nave pews there, implying that, despite the apparent enthusiasm of the upwardly-mobile to acquire prestigious church seating, position was considered more important than material.

This devotional practice persisted, and was shared between natives and newcomers, evidenced in the new Castletown chapel built in 1826. The plain arrangements within that building portrayed that practicality and function were deliberately given precedence over decorative form (Figure 62).

A very short biography of the Delaprime twins suggested possibilities for future research to discover meanings for seating arrangements in general. The Delaprimes emigrated from England to the Island during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were absent from Manx ecclesiastical documentation until November 1782, when Francis married the daughter of Reverend Joseph Cosnahan (MNH PR, Braddan) of Kirk Braddan near Douglas. The main actors in the allocation of two prestigious seats east of all the nave seating to the Delaprime

brothers were probably the churchwardens, suggesting perceptions that the newcomers had already gained high capital status before they set up business in the Island.

The brothers were clearly perceived by Malew officials as worthy of those prominent seats, but the decision was not theirs alone, because on 12 December 1781 a vestry was held at Kirk Malew to 'procure the Sense and opinion of the rest of the Parishioners [...]' (MNH DD, box 103) about the assignation of the new seats. Seating was not allocated without wider consultation in Kirk Malew, or elsewhere.

Involvement by [male] parishioners in parochial affairs was also evident in Kirk Arbory near Castletown in the 1750s when re-building of that parish church was being considered. Parishioners wrote letters, attended vestries as instructed by the Bishop, and then started to knock down that church before permission was granted for its demolition (ibid., box 108).

In Ballaugh, parishioners wrote a number of letters to the churchwardens in 1832 expressing their concerns about the allocation of seating (ibid., box 96) in the new church.

Agreement to Delaprime occupation of seats two and three in Kirk Malew suggested widely-shared perceptions of the high social worth of the newcomers, and maybe anticipation that their business would be economically advantageous for others too. Once occupied, those seats became active in telling others of their occupiers' high social and economic capital, and the regard in which they were held by those in authority. The short-lived success of the Delaprime business because they misinterpreted post-Revestment rules about export duties must have been immediately visible to other parishioners when their seats became vacant. Feltham noted the ruin of the Delaprime mill on the Silverburn River (1798: 271) and a seating plan showed changed seat occupation by 1845 (MNH DD, box 32b, file 280). Even so sketchy a biographical approach focused on material manifestations of change told something about what happened, when and, some of the consequences.

Purchase of prestigious seats in Kirk Malew by newcomers reflected buyers' perceptions that the parish church was senior to its chapel-of-ease in Castletown. Apparently they were unaware of the earlier, less conventional relationship between Kirk Malew and its Castletown chapel. Acquisition of seats in particular positions was perceived to be of social value. The newly built pews in Kirk Malew may also

have become attractive to Castletown residents because of the removal of the Lord of Man's patronage from the Castletown chapel in 1765. The prolonged period of material neglect once visible in Kirk Malew that reflected parochial inability or unwillingness to maintain that interior to an appropriate standard was reversed in direct proportion to the condition of its Castletown chapel. Withdrawal of the Lord of Man's patronage was evidently not replaced with funding from elsewhere until 1805 when plans were made to repair the 1701 chapel (MNH PR, Castletown). These plans, that implied renewed perceptions of the social value of attending the Castletown Chapel, were evidently abandoned, because by 1822 a three-fold increase in seats in a proposed new chapel-of-ease were put up for sale. Their enthusiastic purchase (Figure 60) reflected the town's economic recovery, a probably related, expanded population, reverted perceptions of the new chapel as more prestigious than its mother church, but active acceptance that the congregation was now responsible for maintaining their new nave.

Dramatic changes in seat occupancy between 1788 and 1828 in the Castletown chapels (Table 39) in the context of seats purchased in Kirk Malew by Castletown residents from about 1781 supported ideas of commercial disruption to Castletown businesses at and after the 1765 Revestment. Changed pew ownership actively told congregations that the families concerned had moved elsewhere physically or socially, and warned those who could afford pews of the fragility of their own socio-economic positions. The turnover of seating in the north transept in Kirk Malew after 1782 (Table 40), and in Castletown after 1788 reflected varying family fortunes. However, seating plans did not reveal if those who vacated pews had also moved out of the properties they had lived in when they had occupied particular pews. How those at the bottom of social structures fared remained undiscovered because those who could not afford pew rents were actively excluded from seating plans, evidence of contemporary judgemental paradigms. An 1860 copy of part of an earlier undated plan of Kirk Malew allocated one nave seat to unidentified 'poor people' (MNH PR, Kirk Malew). The changes in seat occupancy noted in St Mark's between 1773 and 1830 in the contexts of changes in Kirk Malew, Ballaugh, and Castletown (Tables 41-44) indicated that, despite their remote rural situation, St Mark's residents were affected by the Revestment almost as much as were Kirk Malew and Castletown congregations.

Table 39:

1701 St Mary's Castletown and 1826 St Mary's Castletown seat occupation 1788-1826

(Ralfe 1926: 46, 7)

	1701 St Mary's in 1788	1826 St Mary's in 1826
1	John Quayle Clerk of the Rolls	Thomas Fellows
2	Richard Tyldesley	Mrs Greesham
3	Richard Quirk	Richard Quirk
4	Edward Killey	F.J. Lace
5	Dominique Lamothe and Joshua Redfern	F. Lamothe and Mrs Redfern
6	John Quayle junior	John Quayle
7	Daniel Callow	John Llewellyn
8	Patrick Kelly, John and William Cain	William Cain and William Cubbon
9	Robert Kelly and Nicholas Cowley	Thomas Jefferson and John Bridson
10	Edward Gelling	John Gelling
11	John Lace	William Killey
12	Samuel Wattleworth	John Lucas
13	Thomas Harrison	John Lucas
14	Academic master	Jas. Wilks
15	Academic scholars	Isabella Looney
16 -17	Thomas Kirwan & Richard Ambrose Stevenson	Academic scholars Chaplain
18	Bishop	Chaplain
19	Duke of Atholl	Robert Cunninghame
20-21	John Taubman	Robert Cunninghame
22	William Callow	General Cuming
23	Rev. Euan Christian	General Cuming
24	Mrs Grissell Cuming	Robert Cunninghame
25	William Nelson	Robert Cunninghame
26	John Lace and John Quayle senior	Robert Cunninghame
27	John Duggan	Robert Quayle
28	Robert Quayle	Rev. John Gelling
29	William Clague	Captain Quilliam
30	John Cotteen	Mrs Taubman
31	John Taubman junior	Mrs Redfern, W.C. Crow, Miss E. Gelling
32	James Gelling, Thomas Redfern, and Hugh Corkill	Robert Quayle, J. Cain, R. Cubbon, M. Drennan, A. Cregeen
33	Robert Quayle, John Robertson, William Gell, Thomas Cubbon	John Fitzsimmons
34	Thomas Quilliam	William Farrant
35	Robert Farrant	Richard Jones
36	George Quayle	Captain Woods
		74 extra pews built and purchased in 1826

Table 40:

Kirk Malew north transept seat occupation
1782 (registered in 1809) – 1845
(MNH DD, box 103)

1781	**1845**
E aisle	
18 John Lace Esq.	18
17 John Quayle and Js: Gelling	17 Thomas Teare ½ pew, John Gelling ½ pew
16 Robert Quayle	16 Mrs Crellin, W. Hill
15 Rev. Euan Christian	15 Mr Caley (Castletown)
14 Paul Callow	14 W. Duff (Balthane)
13 William Nelson	13 Thomas Kelly
12 William Clague	12 Philip Bridson
11 Mrs Grissell Cuming	11 Captain Wallace
10 John Quayle	10 Ballavarvane, Crossag
W aisle	
1 William Callow	1 William Dinwoody
2 Francis Delaprime	2 Ballahick pew
3 Abraham Delaprime	3 Sir G. Drinkwater
4 Thomas Corlett and William Keig	4 Miss Adams (Crossag), Dickinson
5 Patrick Kelly and William Corrin	5 John Cannell ½ pew, Widow of late John Cain, Lawyer
6 John Cotteen	6 Quirk (Knockaloe)
7 Edward Gelling	7 Casement
8 John Duggan	8 William Shimmin ½ pew, Richard Kinvig ½ pew
9 John Taubman	9 -

Table 41:

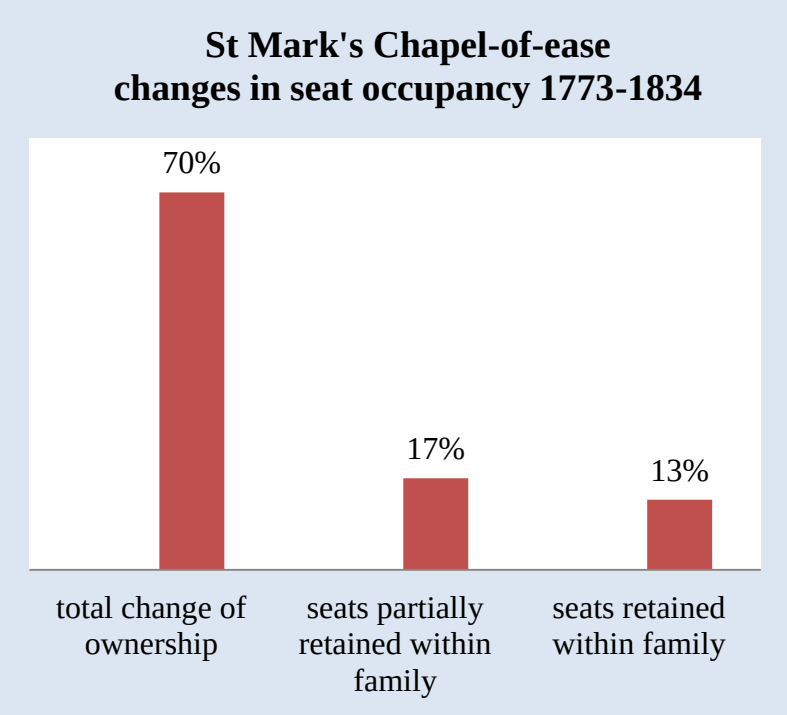


Table 42:

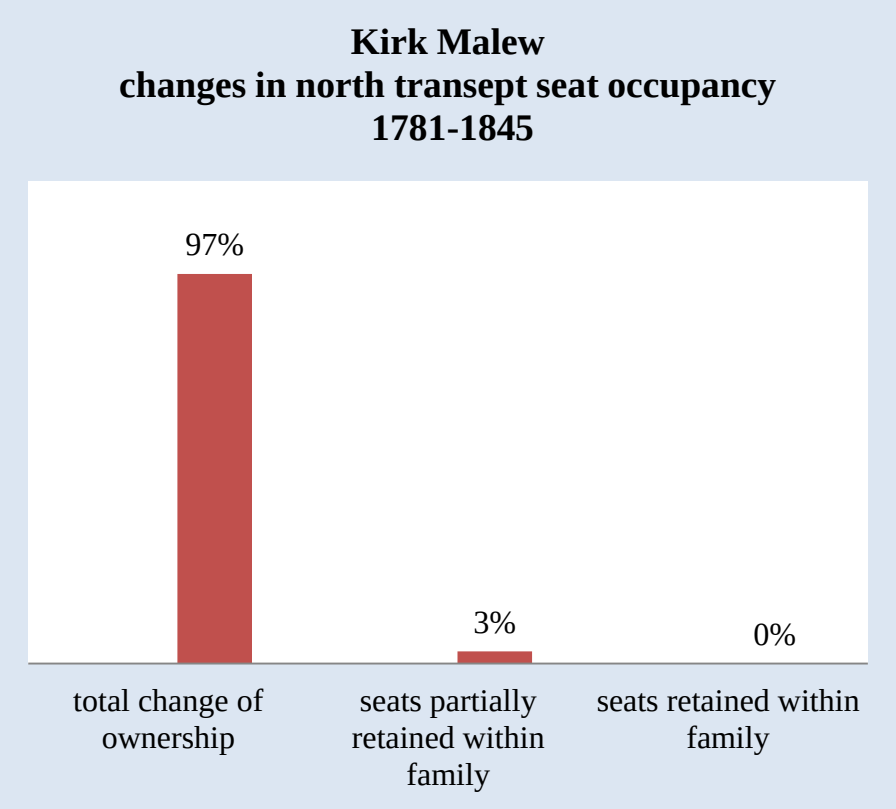


Table 43:

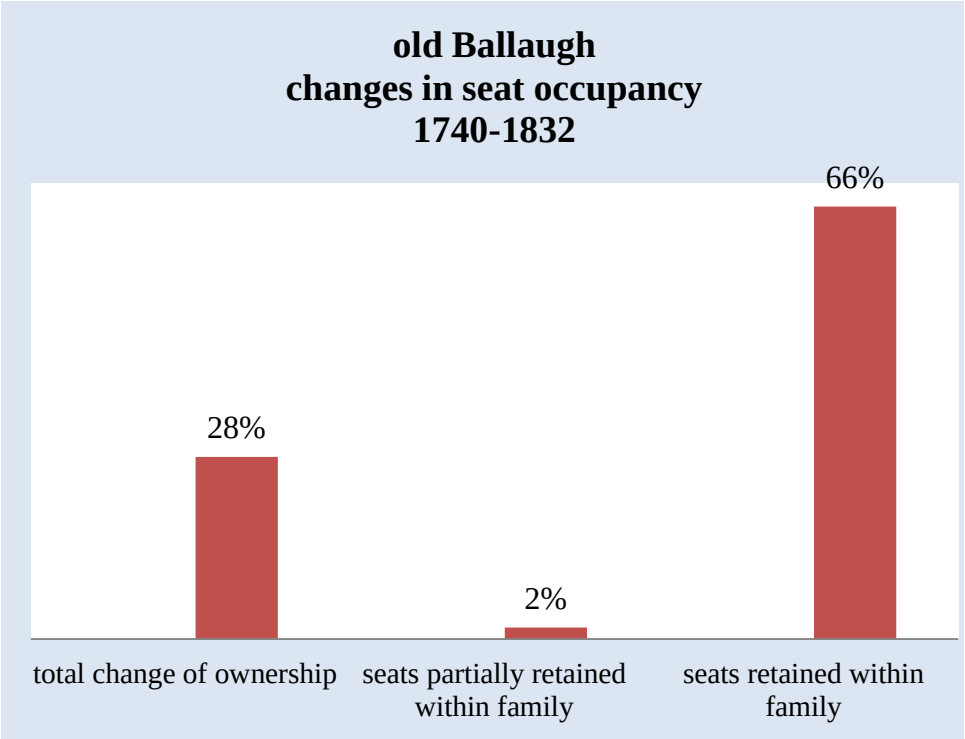
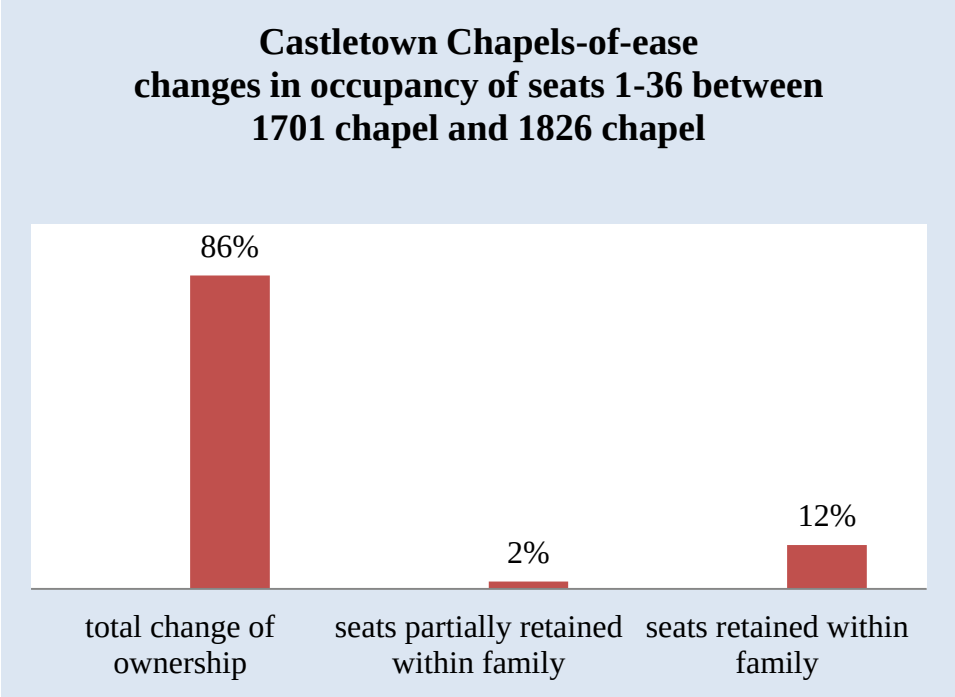


Table 44:



The only surviving seating plan for the 1826 Castletown chapel (Ralfe 1926: 47) did not show the location of seat numbers allocated. Nonetheless, it did indicate that occupation of seats at the east end of that nave continued to be highly esteemed by those who had previously enjoyed this public recognition of their social precedence in the 1701 chapel, because seat 19 allocated to the Duke of Atholl in the 1701 chapel (Figure 47) was surely at the east end of the traditionally prestigious south side of that building. The adjacent seats 20 and 21 were once allocated to the well-known Taubman family, who enjoyed high political and economic capital (Figure 46). This surely reflected local perceptions of high regard. Therefore the similarly numbered seats sold to the evidently rich newcomer Robert Cunninghame (Figure 60), whose wife had been a Taubman, seem likely to have been situated at the east end of an aisle in the new chapel. His purchase of another four pews, probably displayed his wealth and social status as much as accommodating his apparently enormous household. Perpetuated family names in seats 3, 5, 6 and 8 between 1788 and 1826 (Table 39 above) in Castletown suggested the positions of specifically numbered seats were maintained in the new chapel, and that some high-ranking families actively exploited this tradition in order to display their economic precedence. The non-purchase of prominent seats by the families who had once occupied those in the 1701 chapel probably reflected the detrimental economic and social effects of the Revestment on those families, just as the considerably larger size of the new chapel and the purchase of seats they had once occupied by strangers signalled Castletown's economic recovery.

Early plans for Ballaugh showed that pews there may have been shared by all members of the homes concerned, perhaps reflecting a relatively small numbers of non-family household members, and that family and servants lived more closely together than they did later in the nineteenth century.

Gough commented on perceptions of the precedence of position within pews in rural Myddle (1702: 92), but no evidence was discovered about how or if Manx patriarchs delegated seating within their pews. Maybe urban households interacted differently with their servants than rural communities.

When Cunninghame bought the large block of high-status pews in the new 1826 Castletown chapel, he also bought one that its number 106 suggested was a considerable distance away from, and to the west of, where he and his family sat in

seats 21-22 and 24-26, so presumably was for the use of their servants. Changes noted may have been related to time, rather that to rural or urban residency.

Markedly increased numbers of seats after 1714 in old Ballaugh reflected an increased population, perhaps related to commercial opportunities at the port, although comparisons of seat occupation between 1740 and 1832 (Table 21 on page 110) that indicated about 66% stability in the population at that time (Table 43 above), suggested residents found other means of living after the demise of the port.

Neither written sources nor surviving material culture revealed if the poor condition of seating shown to be prevalent during long periods, particularly in Kirk Malew, was always the result of poverty. Inefficiency may have been an issue.

For instance in St Mark's, improvements made after 1830 related to the arrival of Reverend Clarke (MNH VR 1833) only deteriorated again after he left in 1864 (Pollard 1895: 37). This suggested the strong impact on communities of some individuals, which reflected prevalent social practices defined by class.

Taught perceptions about social worth were reiterated weekly in the seating arrangements within churches and chapels-of-ease. Formally assigned seating actively reminded everyone every time they entered their church about their own social status in relation to others present, and surely that directly affected their behaviour inside and outside the building. Those at the lower end of this hierarchy may have felt unable to act independently. However, the arrangements did facilitate order when large numbers of people met together each Sunday. Those of high social status who sat at the east end of naves or in the chancel probably had to walk through the crowd in full public view to their places.

Some high status English families managed to avoid this. In *Dr Thorne*, Squire Gresham's family pew had its own door into the Greshambury grounds 'so that the family were not forced into unseemly community with the village multitude in going to or from their prayers' (Trollope 1858: 459).

No evidence was found that this was so in Malew or Ballaugh. The south entrances into seventeenth-century Kirk Malew and old Ballaugh (Figures 34, 8) may have allowed the upper classes to access their pews within or near the chancel without having to wade through the entire common crowd, although the absence of western entrances in both buildings at that time meant they still had to share those doorways with those of lower classes. A south door has survived in Kirk Malew, so that convention may have continued throughout the whole of the period studied.

This was no longer possible in old Ballaugh after 1849 because only one entrance was retained. Whether this reflected a more integral community in Ballaugh, or just a lack of resources to fund two doorways, remained undiscovered although in the context of that simply furnished interior, one suspected the latter.

How congregations accessed the two early Castletown chapels was not determined, although the probable proximity of the north wall of the 1701 building to the town square suggested a north entrance similar to the one that survives in its successor. The seashore lay immediately to the south. The stonework in the north wall of medieval St Mary's suggested an earlier doorway in that wall too, but demolition of the south transept of the medieval chapel, and the entire 1701 building, left no traces from which more definite deductions about access might be reached.

St Mark's chapel always had a single west entrance (Figure 78), which may have reflected the social composition of so small a hamlet. However, whatever the variations, seating arrangements were active public, edifying, judgemental displays of community structure and family unity before the parson said even a single word.

The eighty-seven year delay in allocating seating officially in the 1701 Castletown chapel suggested failures within the eighteenth-century Manx Church hierarchy as agent. Ecclesiastical activities were curtailed locally in direct proportion to the organizational success of Manx civil authorities. Despite the fact that the original documentation was not discovered, it seemed very likely that the first ecclesiastical visitation to 1701 St Mary's Castletown only took place around 1787. Documents recording visitations to all the other Manx churches at that date have survived. That several secondary sources (MNH MCM 1892: 92; MNH c. 1998; Ralfe 1926: 46) referred to a 1787 visitation to Castletown supported ideas that this significant event did take place. There was no precedent in Castletown, but this visitation fitted in with the recent withdrawal of secular patronage for the chapel at the Revestment, and marked increased ecclesiastical activity as control of that building shifted from secular to church authorities.

The formal ordering of seating in the Castletown chapel seemed an appropriate action once ecclesiastical control of this building had been regained, but there was evidence that seats were perceived to belong to individuals, or land, prior to that. For instance, there was a dispute in 1770 about whether William Murray should pay for a seat in the Castletown chancel or in the nave (MNH EPR). So, after the 1765 Revestment, when patronage was transferred from the Dukes of Atholl to

the Crown, the townspeople were assessed to maintain this nave, apparently for the first time, although this had long been the norm elsewhere. This also indicated that the townspeople did occupy specific seats before they were allocated officially, and that this social practice had been accepted by the ecclesiastical courts. Family names in the 1788 list that revealed connections between the medieval and 1701 Castletown chapels that suggested long attendance at services in Castletown, supported this idea. For example, Henry and Mary Wattleworth's child was baptized in the medieval chapel in 1667 (MNH PR, Kirk Malew), and a later generation of Wattleworths occupied seat 12 in the 1788 seating plan of the 1701 building (Figure 47).

The production of seating plans often represented the building of new churches and chapels-of-ease like those in St Mark's in 1772, Castletown in 1826 and Ballaugh in 1832, or seating extensions like the north transept added to Kirk Malew around 1781. The surviving fragment of an 1860 copy of an earlier Kirk Malew nave seating plan indicated that officials there had once conformed to the traditional allocation of seating to quarterlands and intacks, as they had in Ballaugh. The change to use of family names by 1781 in Kirk Malew may have reflected changed perceptions about social precedence from land residency to capital status, or been a continued effort to fit in with practice in Castletown, even though occupation of seats in Kirk Malew by prestigious Castletown residents at that time suggested that relationship had changed, if only temporarily.

In Castletown people were probably better known for their occupation than for their family, because many were newcomers. This had clearly been the convention within the parish of Malew for some time. A 1773 seating plan for St Mark's (Figure 76; Table 45) allocating seating to names surely reflected this chapel's close relationship with Castletown, via their shared parish church, Kirk Malew.

Lengths of seat occupancy were very different between the parishes of Ballaugh and Malew (Table 46). In Kirk Malew the almost entire change in ownership of the north transept seats between 1781 and 1845 indicated considerable socio-economic and physical mobility. The lack of complete seating plans for the Kirk Malew nave made interpretations difficult. The names of individuals might have revealed more about relationships between the Kirk Malew and its Castletown chapel, but only one page of five of an 1860 copy of the nave seating for Kirk Malew was found.

Table 45:

St Mark's seat occupation 1773 – 1830 (MNH DD, box 103)

N aisle	**1773**	**1830**
1	Hugh Cosnahan	John Moore
2	Thomas Fargher and [...]	John Quaggin ½ pew Shemvalley ½ pew
3	Christopher Bridson	John Bridson
4	Chaplain's pew	Thomas [...] ½ pew John Harrison ½ pew
5	Kinley ⅓, Fargher ⅓ pew, John Moore ⅓ pew	[...] ⅔ pew John Moore ⅓ pew
6	William Fargher ½, John Callister ½ pew	William Fargher ½ pew, Paul Callister ½ pew
7	Paul Bridson ½, John Callister ¼ pew, Nicholas Halsall ¼ pew	Glebe ¾ pew, Thomas Moore ¼ pew
8	John Harrison ¼ pew, Henry Kermot ¼ pew, [...] Creer ¼ pew, John Cain ¼ pew	John Harrison, Thomas McNeil, [...] Corrin, Thomas Kinnish, Thomas Quayle
9	Thomas Fargher	Free
10-11	Chaplain's pews	Free (purchased by Bishop Ward)
S aisle		
1	M. Taggart	Cordeman, Matthew Bridson, John Curphey, Thomas Kinnish
2	Chaplain's pew	Shemvalley
3	Hugh Cosnahan	John Moore
4	Chaplain's pew	Thomas Creer, William Taggart, Thomas [...], Robert Bridson
5	[...] Bridson	John Bridson
6	John Clucas ½ pew, John Harrison ½ pew	[ ] Campbell, Mrs Harrison
7	John Cretny ½ pew, Thomas Carn ½ pew	Thomas Cretny, William [...]
8	John Bridson ¼ pew, [...] Kneen ¼ pew, William and John Bridson ¼ pew each	Free
9	Hugh Cosnahan	Free
10	Chaplain's pew	Free
11	Chaplain's pew	Free (purchased by Bishop Ward)
12	John Quayle	Clagh [...]

Table 46:

Parishes of Ballaugh and Malew: comparative seating changes

Building	period	number of years	% of completely changed ownership
Ballaugh	1740-1832	88 years	28 %
Kirk Malew (north transept)	1781-1845	64 years	97 %
Castletown	1788-1826	38 years	86 %
St Mark's	1772-1830	58 years	70 %
mean for parish of Malew		53.33 years	84 %

The seating arrangements in the north transept of Kirk Malew and the Castletown chapels after 1765 implied fragile, mobile social structures within that parish, and suggested the Revestment had a much greater effect on Manx urban communities than on rural ones. Compilation of Tables 41-44 reflected changes in the names of properties and families taken at face value with little further investigations regarding spellings or human biographies, so conclusions reached may have been very approximate. Assumptions made were further compromised by the lack of exactly comparative information with regards to dates, places, family names, and because plans were produced in isolation from each other. However, the information produced was justified by the stark contrast between the seating plans for the two parishes that suggested very different social systems, and raised enticing prospects for further research.

In Wales, seat tenure approved by Faculty Jurisdiction could not be changed without similar authorization. Owners could not sell them, bequeath them, or retain them if they moved out of the parish, although ecclesiastical court reports showed that the rules were often challenged (Brown 1998: 9).

This was apparently not the case in Man. The 1788 seating list of the 1701 Castletown chapel showed the Redferns occupied pews 5 and 32. In 1822 Mrs Redfern bought part of pew 5 in the proposed new chapel, and willed her portion to a

friend (MNH EPR). In March 1849 a double and a single pew in the same building was sold to Mark Quayle for thirty six pounds sterling (MNH PR, Castletown), evidence that even at this late date pews were owned like real estate. Shared possession of pews in Kirk Malew, its chapels-of-ease and in Ballaugh, as shown in seating plans, implied long-perpetuated perceptions of the social value of owning, and displaying, even part-ownership.

Nineteenth-century activity

Nonconformity impacted onto the sizes of Anglican congregations in England from around 1800. In mid-Wales the new Anglican churches built in Leighton in 1853 and in Bwlch-y-cibau in 1864 implied increased populations, although in Bwlch-y-cibau the new parish church may also have been an Anglican reaction to the Nonconformist chapel already built in that community, evidenced by the burial of its Wesleyan minister Thomas Batten in that chapel's graveyard in 1857 (Figure 88).

In Man Nonconformism became established later than on the mainland, but even though the Nonconformist chapel in St Mark's was not erected until 1840, Methodists may have met from an earlier date in each others' homes. The positive hierarchical response to requests for a new chapel-of-ease to Kirk Malew to be built in St Marks's around 1772 may have been influenced by the potential threat of Nonconformism. The new north transept built onto Kirk Malew in 1781 was an apparent response to the withdrawal of patronage from the Castletown chapel in 1765 and its consequent deterioration. Economic resources were re-directed to the parish church for a time. Subsequent replacement of the 1701 Castletown chapel with one that contained three times the number of seats in 1832 reflected the economic recovery of Castletown. By then Nonconformism had become visible in the local landscape, evidenced in date-stones on surviving buildings. The proportion of incomers to indigenous people occupying seats in 1826 St Mary's was not explored, but the arrangements were probably perceived of as an advantageous business opportunity by immigrants. The effects of the widespread Nonconformism noted in Man in the 1851 religious census became more visible in Anglican material culture towards the end of the period studied. For instance it may have influenced why many of the north transept seats in Kirk Malew were unoccupied by 1845

(MNH DD box 103), and contributed to the decision not to renovate the west gallery seats in new Ballaugh in 1892.

The composition of Anglican congregations became less visible inside churches with the arrival of Nonconformism and nineteenth-century ecclesiological changes that advocated free seating. But the positioning of free seats at the west end of St Mark's Chapel in 1830 (MNH VR), which suggested careful empathic planning not to upset the established social order or shared perceptions of its relevance, predated the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society, implying that their ideas about the provision of free seating were not entirely innovative. The free seats provided in St Mark's for use by the less advantaged did not challenge tradition by disrupting arrangements nearer the east end of the nave. The poor continued to be defined by free seating which was more inadequately situated with regards to view and audibility than seats allocated to those of high social standing.

A similar layout was visible in new Ballaugh from 1832 (Figure 22). The additional free seat directly under the pulpit, perhaps for use by the hard of hearing, perpetuated Protestant paradigms that all should be able to hear what was said clearly.

Before the 1850s, Welsh impropriators had the right to exclude others from sitting in their pew, hence the provision of lockable doors (Brown 1998: 2). This reflected English conventions. In Eliot's *Middlemarch* Will Ladislaw was reluctant to sit in the curate's pew when attending a service away from home (1871/2: 839-40).

The presence of doors as a facility to exclude others must once have been perceived as important and relevant in Man too, because the absence of doors on some of the St Mark's pews when Rev. Clarke took up his new appointment as chaplain there in 1827 was considered newsworthy nearly forty years later (Clarke 1864: 17), even though one might have thought the dilapidated condition in which he found the chapel, parsonage, and roads on his arrival would have been more pressing.

On 9 November 1830 it was agreed to call a vestry at Kirk Malew because several pews were so broken and decayed that they 'were not worthy of the expense of repairing and painting them' (MNH DD, box 103), suggesting officials contemplated replacing the nave pews then. But no evidence was found that they did so. The nave pews continued to replicate those installed in the north transept in 1781

in material, form and style. However, by 1833 the seats were reported to be in 'decent order and repair' again (MNH VR), so something was done in 1830. Even though the new Castletown chapel had by then been open for services for four years, maybe Kirk Malew retained some funds from earlier, more economically viable times, before much of their congregation migrated back to Castletown. Repairs may even have been unsuccessful attempts to tempt them back. By 1845 two of the north transept pews were unallocated, which at this early date surely had nothing to do with ecclesiological ideas but everything to do with a reduced congregation, and the loss of status and authority usually associated with a parish church, and its incumbent.

This was about the same time as Rev. Clarke was appointed chaplain at St Mark's and found the nave there dilapidated. The combined material deterioration of the Kirk Malew and St Marks' material culture implied a lack of activity on the part of the vicar and wardens of Kirk Malew, and shared communal lack of access to resources.

In contrast, the Castletown congregation clearly acted separately. Although within the same parish, the new Castletown chapel-of-ease was supported by enthusiastic purchase of the pews there. Clearly those with high economic means did not respond materially to those who did not share their good fortune. The change from allocated seating within the 1701 Castletown chapel to the sale of pews in the 1826 building was evidence that by then Castletown residents had been required to revert to more conventional congregational responsibility for the nave. There was less evidence in the nineteenth-century seating plan of the religious and civil leadership once visible in the old chapel in the absence of seating allocated to the Bishop and the Lord of Man, probably associated with the diminished activities of the Crown as Lord of Man, and reduced perceptions of Castletown as a centre of Insular economic and governmental importance, even though transfer to Douglas was only formalized some time later.

The contrasting social stability implied by constancy in seat occupancy in Ballaugh when the new church was build there in 1832 did suggest that the considerable changes visible in Castletown between 1788 and 1826 were about more than just a move into a new building. The location of the Castletown building and the site's history probably actively attracted its congregation.

The benches inside old Ballaugh matched roof decorations installed in the renovated building in 1849 (Figure 11), so were probably contemporary. Seating was once numbered, although subsequently they were disfigured by those numbers being scratched off (field visits). This was evidence of the designation of benches rather than of pews. Maybe benches were built because of reduced access to resources to furnish this building in 1849.

In England, novelist Eliot experienced the demise of pews and referred to them as 'old-fashioned' (1860: 480), as did Trollop, who described churches 'blocked up with high-backed ugly pews …' (1864: 9-10). In the those contexts the free seats in St Mark's and Ballaugh, and the ecclesiological changes that took place in Trelystan in 1856, were relatively early.

Although the form and positioning of pulpits within most of the churches studied had been modified by the latter part of the nineteenth century to emphasize active interrelationships between the occupants of seats and altars, in Castletown the seating arrangements remained traditional until the building was sold in the 1980s. So despite the social mobility shown in Castletown between 1788 and 1826, a continued shared conservative paradigm prevailed. The prolonged traditional arrangements may have reflected continued government involvement in that building and shared wistful memories of a time when Tynwald, as a very powerful, unelected body, met in Castletown. An 1833 visitation indicated that the 1826 St Mary's Chapel in Castletown was still perceived officially to be partly Government owned. The unusual status of this chapel was further evidenced by the appointment in 1833 of the clerk by the Lieutenant Governor paid for by Government (MNH VR). The Chaplain's stipend was paid by the Manx government until *c.* 1920 (MNH DD, box 17). Considerable paperwork was also generated and time expended establishing actual ownership of this building in the 1970s (IOM PRO) before it could be sold for private use.

Manx communities seemed to differentiate between acceptance of free seating and perceptions of needs to install ecclesiological architectural features. In Kirk Malew the chancel floor was never raised or tiled, nor were the pews ever replaced when limited ecclesiological changes were made in the chancel at the end of the nineteenth century. It seemed unlikely that ordinary members of that congregation then suddenly abandoned tradition and began to sit in the box pews that remained in the chancel.

The rearrangements made in new Ballaugh in 1892/3 also concentrated on the chancel. In the nave, the three aisles of old pews replaced by three aisles of new, but still doored pews, continued in use throughout the period studied.

In Wales ecclesiological ideas were implemented in all the naves studied except in Leighton, where they conformed more closely to the wishes of John Naylor, who funded the furnishing of that *locale* with doored pews and no central aisle.

In Trelystan the relatively simple new rearrangements made in 1856 apparently also reflected the, albeit constrained, generosity of Naylor. Although his donation was not so generous as to his own chapel at Leighton he was probably key actor in the preservation of this medieval building in the context of the continued lack of this community's access to resources, because the building was renovated structurally at the same time (PR, Leighton vestry minutes 1856). The date of the renovations did suggest that from that date everyone attending services in Trelystan was afforded an equal view of the altar in free seats.

In contrast, renovations were only made in 1898 in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain. Surviving arrangements reflected full acceptance of ecclesiological ideas and access to generous funding, perhaps facilitated by the urban location of that community near the English border and to related communication and transport links.

The demise of allocated seating meant that material culture became less active, and generated less documentation, to tell about the structure of communities, of social movement amongst them or of relocated populations. The religious census undertaken in Man in 1851 provided some of information by recording there were 300 free seats and 600 allocated ones in St Mary's Castletown, so traditional arrangements still prevailed for two-thirds of the congregation. But, as in previous times, comparable information was not discovered even between buildings within the same parish, which suggested lack of central co-ordination at diocesan and/or parochial level.

The proportion of free and allocated seats in Kirk Malew and St Mark's Chapel was not recorded in that census. This suggested perpetuated conservative paradigms and reluctance to provide free seating in the parish church, but did not explain why this was not recorded in St Mark's. Provision of limited free seating there for over twenty years by then, facilitated by Bishop Ward's enthusiastic

instigation, probably reflected experiments with liturgical arrangements made around the same time in England (Yates 2006: 4, 108, 115-123). Retained traditional seating arrangements in Kirk Malew and the Castletown chapels were not unique.

Around 1911 private pews still in use in Sussex continued to actively exclude some. 'I felt a bit of an outsider as I followed Stephen up the aisle into the Rectory pew [...]' (Sassoon 1937: 124). Many examples of Georgian arrangements have also survived in and around Norwich such as in St George's, Colegate and St Mary the Virgin, Bylaugh (field visits).

Pulpits

From 1603/4, English canon law required 'churchwardens or questmen, at the common charge of the parishioners', to provide each church with a pulpit (Bray 1998: 377). The necessity for such an edict indicated that some churches had not yet been furnished with a pulpit by 1603.

The first reference found about the use of a pulpit in Kirk Malew was in 1634 (MNH VR). This may have been a rudimentary affair, because the wardens also reported there was 'noe seate for the minister'.

Details of how the east end of the nave in the medieval Castletown chapel was furnished after the Reformation were not discovered, although the west end was apparently already being used as a school in 1570 (Cubbon 1971: 21). But official post-Reformation ecclesiastical records for that building may never have existed in the context of the lack of official ecclesiastical records kept about its successor the 1701 Castletown chapel, reflecting tensions between civil and religious authorities in the context of government involvement with this chapel.

At a time when natural light was a valuable resource a presumption might be that the pulpits in both the medieval and 1701 Castletown chapels lay near a window. However, when Feltham visited the 1701 chapel in 1797/8 he was apparently unaware of what lay within the chancel. He only commented on the red pulpit cloth, suggesting this pulpit was positioned centrally, perhaps evidence of the considerable resources available to it patron, the Lordship, in providing additional lighting. The CRP recorded the frequent purchase of candles that may have been used in the chapel, although such particular use was not recorded (Stott 2009).

In the parish churches, the availability of natural light was certainly a consideration in positioning pulpits. In Kirk Rushen in the south of the Island a window was broken out above the pulpit in 1641 (MNH EPR) and in Kirk Arbory near Castletown churchwardens were ordered to move their newly installed pulpit nearer to a north window in 1759 (ibid).

In Wales, the possibly seventeenth-century date proposed (Silvester and Frost 1999: 6) for the ornately-carved pulpit and tester in continued in use in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain was supported by the survival of other carved, dated woodwork, probably remnants of pews. Latterly this pulpit still lay adjacent to the chancel step and a south window where the earlier triple-decker pulpit had once stood, although a floor plan showed it was once entered from the east side (Jones 1871: opposite page 99). More recently it has four steps, so despite its provenance, was probably modified at some time, probably around 1892/3. The NADFAS record (CHCC 1998: 317) implied a new pulpit was made of old pews then, but CPAT's archaeological expertise and experienced opinion was valued above that of the NADFAS amateurs who recorded the contents of this building in 1998. Likely, what remained was a cut-down version of an earlier model.

Yates dated the use of central pulpits in English churches from around 1753 (2006: 87), which supported the author's proposition that by 1797/8 the altar in the 1701 Castletown chapel-of-ease was positioned centrally. That Feltham did not comment on the chancel arrangements which were probably noteworthy even in 1797/8 implied they were hidden from the nave.

Also, the pulpit was situated centrally in the 1826 chapel. In the context of what the material culture suggested was a conservative population, the arrangements there may well have been modelled on those within its predecessor.

In old Ballaugh the 1772 pulpit situated against the north wall in an 1832 seating plan (Figure 20) suggested one had been positioned there since around 1717 and was only replaced with a central pulpit when the new church was built in 1832 (Figure 22). The material culture suggested that, although this congregation valued tradition, it complied with minimal change earlier than in Castletown.

Non-central pulpits may once have been common in Manx churches, evidenced in Figure 126, the survivor in old Braddan parish church (field visit), the pulpit visible in the 1732 plan of St Sanctain's chancel (Figure 127), and the one put into the north side of the nave when the new church built at Kirk Arbory in 1757

(MNH DD, box 108). Such arrangements may have been an early Manx convention, but not necessarily one that reflected perceptions that the altar should be visible to those sitting in the nave. In St Sanctain's the west entrance into the chancel was small and the altar probably hidden from those sitting in the nave by the large pew situated across the northwest side of the chancel.

Presumably by the time triple-decker pulpits were removed, most related congregations were literate and had no further need for the parish clerk to call out the words to hymns, psalms and responses. Pulpits 'as high nearly as the roof would allow, and the reading desk under it [that] hardly permitted the parson to keep his head free from the dangling tassels of the cushion above him' (Trollop 1864: 9-10) became obsolete.

A similar pulpit and cushion was also used in the 1826 Castletown chapel (Figure 61). The large size of the triple-decker pulpits and their considerable height were probably active in teaching congregations about the authority of the clergy, the power of the Church and of links between civil and ecclesiastical governance. The late retention of the central pulpit in 1826 St Mary's in Castletown may have been perceived by that community as representative of the former prestige of their town and that building. It also revealed that this building was once more about authority than about reflecting the needs of its congregation, because many of the townspeople must long have been literate.

'Normally both pulpit and reading desk were of wood, but gradually stone began to replace for the pulpit after 1840 [...]' (Yates 2006: 154). That was not evident so early in any of the churches or chapels studied, although stone pulpits were installed, as in Bwlch-y-cibau Church in 1864, which reflected its other ecclesiologically-correct arrangements, and in new Ballaugh Church around 1893 as part of renovations carried out at that time. Maybe in Wales, the continued use of wood reflected its accessibility. That did not explain the Manx convention of continued use of wooden pulpits, although that might be explained by the lack of good quality stone in the Island. Maybe superior stone was more expensive to import than timber.

In conclusion the use of triple-decker pulpits in the Manx parishes of Ballaugh and Malew followed the English model, although they were sometimes retained for longer in both Man and Wales. Relationships between Kirk Malew and its chapels-of-ease were less visible in their pulpits than they were in seating

arrangements. Whatever the position of the triple-deckers, the arrangements before implementation of ecclesiological changes implied that related services focused onto pulpits and that they took place more often than services focused onto altars. This was confirmed in Man, by the infrequent celebrations of Communion reported to have taken place during this period (MNH VR, Stott 2009).

Yates wrote that in 1818 the breaking up of triple-decker pulpits into separated pulpit and reading desk 'received powerful support from' the Incorporated Church Building Society and the Commissioners appointed under the Church Building Act' (2006: 117). Addleshaw and Etchells dated material changes influenced by Gothic revivalism that transferred focus from pulpits to altars and required rearrangement of chancel furnishings and pulpit from 1841 (1948: 36). This did not happen in Castletown until after 1920. Nor were ecclesiological tenets that decreed nave furnishings be arranged so that a raised, lighted, decorated altar was visible at the east end of a long, central aisle from the west entrance and from all parts of the nave ever fully implemented in Kirk Malew or new Ballaugh. However, VRs from the end of the century indicated changed liturgical practices, in the increased number of celebrations of Holy Communion recorded, despite the fact that the intended use of early modern arrangements no longer suited actual liturgical use.

Use of sounding boards

The installation of a sounding-board to the pulpit in Holy Trinity in Dorchester in 1625/6 (Underdown 1992: 40) was evidence of acceptance of the new idea that it was important for even lower-class people to be able to hear what was going on during services.

This may have been especially relevant in the likely presence of extraneous noises produced by large crowds composed of all generations and maybe even dogs during long services. The sexton in Castletown was charged with controlling dogs as late as 1833 (MNH VR).

Anglican liturgical arrangements reiterated the shared primary Protestant aim of audible services for even the most disadvantaged but also told of some problems in reuse of Catholic buildings for Protestant services. For instance the tester that survived in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain implied earlier use that seemed even less

surprising in the context of the large size of that medieval building and its post-Reformation extensions.

This was a common problem. In England, Gough mentioned that his father, who was 'thick of heareing' (1702: 117) sat in a free pew near the pulpit in their English parish church. In 1816 Mr Elton allowed the elderly Miss Bates to sit in the vicarage-pew 'that she might hear the better …' (Austin: 151-152).

In Man, Mrs Stevenson of Balladoole complained to the Bishop that she could no longer hear services when the family pew was moved from the Kirk Arbory chancel to the west gallery in 1761 (MNH DD, box 108). The apparent promotion in Ballaugh of many seat-holders eastwards in the 1832 move from old to new church in the absence of new pew occupiers, surely had as much to do with audibility during services as with social meaning. The presence of Chaplain's pews relatively near the pulpit in St Mark's and the free seat in new Ballaugh directly under that pulpit may have served a similar purpose, although no evidence was found about who may actually have used those facilities.

The availability of public venues where communities met regularly and where all could hear and understand what was said was a resource which secular authorities in Man could not ignore at a time when many were illiterate, Manx was unwritten and Insular transport systems basic. Bishop Hildesley recorded that it took several days to circulate messages to all his Manx clergy in 1757 (Bray 2005: 245). The liturgical arrangements inside churches clearly offered practical solutions for disseminating secular as well as ecclesiastical information. In 1659 the Vicar of Malew was ordered by Governor James Chaloner to read out a statement about alleged witchcraft 'in English and Manxe' to his congregation (MNH PR, Kirk Malew) and Manx clergy were instructed to read the proclamation that announced the 1765 Revestment from their pulpits (Gawne 2009: 46).

Pulpits were used for similar purposes in England too (Pounds 2000: 479). Such use actively reflected the state's involvement in ecclesiastical affairs.

Problems were anticipated even in purpose-built churches and chapels. A sounding-board was once used above the pulpit in the 1701 Castletown chapel, but was unnecessary, perhaps because of its small size. It was sold around 1817 (MNH DD, box 98). Another was put into new Ballaugh. Possibly problems had been experienced in the old church there when it was extended eastwards in 1717, further evidenced by the free seat provided directly under the pulpit in new Ballaugh (Figure

22). Continued expectations that everyone present should participate actively in services were evident. It seemed more likely that socially disadvantaged members of that community used that seat, because the poor sat furthest from the pulpit.

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, use of sounding boards may have been reactive. Long services were suggested by the use of hour glasses. Members of congregations who could not hear what was going on may have become restless. By the nineteenth century solutions to potential problems related to voice transmission were probably planned because of the involvement of formally-trained architects in the erection of new buildings like those in Ballaugh, Leighton and Bwlch-y-cibau. Whether discovered as solutions or designed, the use of sounding-boards in a number of the Manx and Welsh churches and chapels studied was evidence that human actors generated material activity to ensure congregational involvement in services.

Use of hour glasses

The installation of congregational seating that surrounded and faced pulpits from the seventeenth century also facilitated the delivery of long sermons. Even though hour-glasses were not be discovered *in situ* the survival of two Manx examples (Figure 129), and Hogarth's eighteenth-century painting of 'The Sleeping Congregation' in which an hour glass sat on a stand attached to the pulpit, suggested early-modern use during sermons. In Holy Trinity Church in Dorchester 'the hour-glass was turned and perhaps turned again' during John White's seventeenth-century incumbency (Underdown 1992: 41) and Pounds cited the purchase of hour-glasses and the making of a new hour-glass case for use in St Petrock's in Exeter (2000: 479).

Although Cubbon's book contained an illustration of a Manx pulpit hour-glass allegedly from Kirk Michael and suggested discourses often exceeded three hours, his lack of reference to primary sources (1952: 295) made his statement less reliable. No evidence was found of the purchase or use of an hour glass or stand in a specific Manx church or chapel-of-ease although one of the hour glasses that has survived in the Manx Museum allegedly came from Ballaugh. Because they were not *in situ* they were not strong evidence of specific past practice, although their survival suggested previous ecclesiastical rather than domestic use. In the contexts of Underdown's and Pounds' statements above, they added credence to the idea of

long, early modern, Protestant sermons in Man. After all, puritan ethics discouraged other activities on Sundays. Manxman and prospective clergyman John Clarke wrote in his journal that as a young man he supervised his younger siblings in what he thought were appropriate Sunday activities:

> In the evening set my brothers & sisters to get by heart their several tasks To A – a hymn – to C – a collect – Mary a Ps. To Marcia a Ps. & to [...] a column of spelling to prevent him from playing – and the journal & private prayer & meditation occupied my own attention [...]

(1817-20: 24).

By the end of the nineteenth century hour glasses may have become redundant in some churches and chapels-of-ease, which correlated with the demise of triple-deckers and the transfer of liturgical focus from pulpits to altars. Thomas Gill must have been an early convert. In 1864/5 he recorded that at St Mark's 'in the morning I preached for twenty-five minutes, and in the evening I had to stop when the great clock finger showed me I had been at work forty-five minutes (Pollard 1895: 39). So clocks had probably replaced hour glasses in some Manx buildings by the end of the century.

Conclusions

In conclusion, analyses of changes made in material culture used within naves revealed something about the people involved, which did not contradict the findings of previous chapters. The naves considered were indeed shown to be microcosms of the communities within which they exited. Interpretation of material changes noted over nearly three-hundred years indicated that naves were dynamic, evolving social *locales*. The human actors involved, necessarily influenced by personal and collective memories, were visible in the construction, arrangement, rearrangement and use of seating and related arrangements. The post-processual approach taken was justified because the characteristics of materials considered did imply variations in access to resources and changed rules.

The division of early modern naves into different spaces according to class suggested shared perceptions of the importance of traditional values although those

arrangements always reflected an intention that the discourses which took place were communal affairs. They also revealed much about population trends and the growing popularity of Nonconformism.

The various personal roles conferred onto individuals recognized by Wright (2002: 20) became evident when considering characteristics of ecclesiastical material culture. Churchwardens perceived as minor authority figures by Bishops became more visible when reporting the condition of materials and how they were used. They also actively influenced how the social place of families was displayed when involved in allocating seating. Churchwardens also facilitated resolution of related disputes, so were probably perceived as authority figures by ordinary members of congregations. Family patriarchs were recognized in the allocation of seats whatever their social rank or the position of the pew involved.

Power relationships changed in Castletown when the Lordship of Man was transferred to the Crown. The 3rd Duke of Atholl ceased to perceive that he had any responsibility for that chapel. The continued inactivity of the congregation became visible in the sharp decline in the chapel's condition after 1765. The townspeople were clearly not motivated to take action and this was probably exacerbated by contemporary social mores and the collapse of the Castletown economy.

Generally, nave arrangements suggested that although services were meant to be communal affairs, social position was perceived from at least the early part of the sixteenth century as relevant within all the communities considered. Conventionally, the most prestigious sat towards the east end and those of lowest status at the west end of naves, furthest from the pulpit. High ranking individuals and families were more visible in the material culture and associated sources than those of lower classes. The crowding of names at the west ends of buildings in seating plans indicated that the poorest ranks of the social scale were the most populous.

In England, Gough noted and recorded the same arrangements in Myddle in Shropshire around 1702 (80-83).

In mid-Wales, fully free seating in Trelystan in 1856 indicated a more cohesive community paradigm.

Free seats provided in Man, in Ballaugh and St Mark's in the 1830s intimated that those with most status in those rural congregations may have felt a connection with the less privileged in their midst and were prepared to be innovative in how they looked after their interests. The 1851 religious census showed that only a

proportion of the Castletown seats were free, perhaps as a result of the economic, social and physical mobility suggested by the rapid turnover in seating noted between 1788 and 1826. Pew ownership may have prevailed there because it was perceived to promote business success by bringing new families to public notice. In the more rural Manx churches minimal change implied shared lack of perceptions for a need to do so within a social system which already cared for all despite, or maybe because of, the social distinctions made. In Ballabeg, a village near Castletown, Charles Corrin's childhood memory of

> [...] the beggars' house where travelling people got a night's lodging and food [...] my mother's Uncle Jim and old Aunt used to take the old people's underthings from them there and take them in the house to the fire and kill the vermin and take them back to them. They would give them some hot food [...]

(MNH MFLS, 1949)

was reiterated in other sources. Despite the dissimilar ways the Industrial Revolution progressed between the British mainland and Man, the material culture suggested more local rural/ urban than regional differences in Man.

Traditional arrangements noted in all regions surely shored up the self-confidence of those who had access to prestigious seats, and intimidated those whose designated seating was farthest from the focus of liturgies, and consolidated perceptions of acceptable social mores. These seating arrangements must have implied to all that the very highest authority supported the way they were assembled. Because everyone was expected, under threat of censure, to attend services every week until well into the nineteenth-century, this social structure was reiterated over the *longue durée*, informing shared *habitus*.

The ecclesiological movement intended that free seating should reflect the social mobility facilitated by the Industrial Revolution as was the case in Trelystan and St Mark's. In Castletown Chapel, retained Georgian seating arrangements suggested that the shared paradigm in this urban district was more conservative.

The material did not tell how the free seats were used in St Mark's. The retention of allocated pews for most parishioners until much later suggested those free seats were probably used by those perceived of low social status who may not

have had access to seating in the past. It seemed unlikely that those in possession of allocated seats would have abandoned those to occupy free seating shared with persons perceived to be of lower social rank. *Habitus* and long, handed-down memories of when Castletown was central to secular and ecclesiastical governance in the Island were evident materially in Castletown. And retained Georgian features inside Kirk Malew revealed that those who attended services there continued to vie for social recognition with those who went to church in Castletown.

Traditionally class was inherited, although social rank was 'permeable' (Wright 2002: 8). This was evident in the relatively rapid turnover of seat occupation noted in Kirk Malew and its Castletown chapels between 1781 and 1832 where shared perceptions of class reflected economic status, consolidated by the official approval implied by their occupation of highly visible seating widely accepted as prestigious. So the wider changes in social structure brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the development of Empire that facilitated social movement into the middle classes was also visible in the Isle of Man by this time.

Less expected was that some prestigious Manx households had officially recognized pews in more than one parish church. This may have reflected landholdings in more than one parish but was surprising nonetheless in expanding communities at a time when there was a general shortage of church seating, evidenced in the extension of Kirk Malew in 1781, the building of St Mark's Chapel in 1772 and the replacement of 1701 St Mary's Castletown in 1826 with approximately three times as many pews.

It became clear that this chapter could only explore a fraction of the meanings that nave arrangements might reveal, not least in the contexts of Wright's (2002) extensive deliberations on seating arrangements and Flather's (2007) on the use of social spaces. However, consideration of selective characteristics of a few nave arrangements did reveal involvement of human actors. Materials were not always used as originally intended, evidence of lay activity. Variations in arrangements noted implied reduced central ecclesiastical authority. Especially, changes in the material culture revealed that the unusual relationship between Kirk Malew and its Castletown chapels reverted to the status quo after the 1765 Revestment when the Lord of Man's patronage was withdrawn from the 1701 Castletown chapel. But efforts in 1787 to bring the 1701 Castletown chapel and its congregation back under ecclesiastical control were not entirely successful. Lay

activity was evident in the popularity of its very considerably enlarged replacement, facilitated by those with high economic capital, visible in the 1826 seating plan which contrasted markedly with the earlier, much smaller structural extension and uptake of those seats in Kirk Malew. Renewed lay reluctance to accept Kirk Malew as the senior of the two was manifest in the retention of completely Georgian arrangements in the 1826 Castletown Chapel throughout the period of this study, even when partial ecclesiological changes were made in the parish church and the other Malew chapel-of-ease at St Mark's. The Castletown congregation actively and successfully challenged ecclesiastical authorities, who seemed powerless to discourage them.

Nineteenth-century arrangements in England and Wales which began to place less emphasis on past criteria for social structure reflected opportunities for economic-based social advancement and for Nonconformist gatherings. Facilitated by the Industrial Revolution which involved mass migration into urban centres, this was less evident in Man. The lack of a local source of coal restricted Manx industrialization to use of water power. Also, Nonconformism arrived relatively late because of the continued power of the Anglican ecclesiastical courts and issues related to language usage. So, it seemed likely the free seating made available in St Mark's and Ballaugh from the 1830s reflected local acceptance of Bishop Ward's ideas rather than wider enthusiasm for social change in Man, whereas the mobility in seat occupation between 1788 and 1826 in the Castletown chapels reflected the vagaries of commercial enterprise, English immigration and active lay enthusiasm to display their economic power materially.

Wright considered the social status of those in England involved in seating disputes (2002: 126), but no evidence was found that Manx disputes about seating arrangements took place between those of different classes. Rather they seemed to represent jostling amongst those of high class to display precedence. The lack of change noted in Ballaugh seating forms and plans, and objections from parishioners to proposed, albeit minor, changes when the seating arrangements for the new church were being formulated, suggested acceptance of traditional social structures by the vast majority in that rural community. Retained Georgian arrangements in the Castletown chapel in the context of the influence of immigration visible in the seating arrangements reflected the conservative values shared between natives and recent immigrants. In Kirk Malew incomplete ecclesiological changes implied

possible lack of self assurance, preoccupation to maintain seniority by copying what obviously worked in Castletown and/or, related economic constraints. This was entirely invisible in Ballaugh where instead the incomplete ecclesiological arrangements in new Ballaugh seemed a strong statement of community consensus.

In mid-Wales, the Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain and Trelystan naves, which contained more complete ecclesiological changes, albeit relatively late in 1892/3 in Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain, implied English influence. Noted variations did show that seating arrangements were not considered so liturgically significant by those in authority that they challenged related local congregational activity.

In Man, the relatively remote rural location of St Mark's and possession by that chapel of its own graveyard, which added to that congregation's sense of independence and responsibility, was evident in their seating arrangements. This probably reminded those in the more prestigious seats about their responsibility for those less fortunate than themselves. Pew turnover was slightly more stable than in Kirk Malew and Castletown and the use of free seats accepted sooner, suggesting a cohesive community of which there was little evidence in Castletown, where the arrangements actively perpetuated ideas about social division and the deservedness of those with high capital status.

Chapter IX

Conclusions

'Far from merely *reflecting* society, material culture can be seen to construct, maintain, control and transform social societies and relations' (Gilchrist 1997: 15)

Human agency and material activity

This project's aim to consider past human and material activities was facilitated by the temporality of materials and systems. Material transience was most apparent when the interiors of standing buildings were renovated, new ones constructed, and periodic changes made in seating and other liturgical arrangements, These often reflected political events like the Reformation, the English Civil War, the Commonwealth period, and the Revestment of the Isle of Man, which indicated changed rules and human activity. The Industrial Revolution and the nineteenth-century Cambridge Camden Society were also evident materially, as change agents, inside churches.

The close relationship between English secular and ecclesiastical authorities was an important factor in driving the Reformation materially in all the buildings studied. Liturgical arrangements evolved to meet Protestant tenets that parishioners participate actively within services. Consequentially, social structures became evident in the size, form, style, condition and rearrangement of the material culture used within the churches that communities attended.

No evidence was found within Manx ecclesiastical interiors that the English Civil War of 1642-1651 extended to the Island. The active influence of dissidence during the subsequent Commonwealth period was more apparent even though secondary historical sources suggested disruption was minimal. Manx *habitus* based on shared low-church paradigms, in the context of the contemporary episcopal interregnum, but continued church courts, albeit led by civil officials, probably facilitated communal acceptance of Parliamentary influences between 1651 and 1660. However, rather feudal Manx political structures, and the continued authority of the ecclesiastical courts, aided Bishop Barrow's contrasting prescriptions from

1663 that restored the status quo after the Restoration, as best the people could within the clearly limited resources at their disposal.

In England and Wales Nonconformist chapels began to appear in the landscape soon afterwards, about a hundred years before they did in Man. This stemmed, at least partially, from the interrupted English ecclesiastical court system from 1641, which never regained its earlier authority. In Man, compromise by Anglican officials and changes in human agency and relationships became visible in the incorporation into rural Manx churches of the ascetic preferences of the non-extremist dissidents who continued to worship in those buildings (Table 47).

Table 47:

Material evidence of continued hierarchical acceptance of low church paradigms within Manx Anglican churches and chapels-of-ease

- Some clergymen continued to express their puritan paradigms in reluctance to differentiate themselves from the laity in dress and by refusing to wear a surplice when delivering sermons (see page 166).
- Most parochial surplices continued to be cared for poorly despite Episcopal reminders of parishioners' obligations (MNH VRs)
- Plain style of rural church and chapel-of-ease interiors and contents over the *longue durée*
- Ecclesiological renovations inside many Manx churches and chapels-of-ease incomplete
- Continued lack of definition between chancel and nave in rural Manx churches and chapels-of-ease
- Very late installation of altar crosses and candlesticks

The effects of the 1765 Revestment, in abrupt changes in key agency when the Manx economy faltered became particularly apparent inside Kirk Malew and its Castletown chapels, as did Castletown's economic recovery. Contemporary seating plans showed that it was not long until local businessmen began to express their preferences dynamically and that the clerical hierarchy complied with their activities.

The Industrial Revolution actively facilitated the demographic and social changes reflected inside all the buildings studied, where seating capacity increased. Successful entrepreneurship and failures were displayed publically in the material culture and arrangements.

The recommendations of the Cambridge Camden Society which successfully challenged traditional material arrangements in many English, Welsh and urban Manx churches were not accepted so readily in rural Man where changes in relationships between ecclesiastical officials and ordinary people with more puritan paradigms became manifest inside churches. Prevalent material culture disclosed that the laity had become more active and influential within their own communities. In new Ballaugh new nave seating was installed in three rows of doored pews without central aisle around 1892, apparently later than anywhere else in Britain.

Castletown residents were the main actors in retaining the Georgian liturgical arrangements within their chapel-of-ease, actively reflecting their continued determination to manage their own affairs without interference from their parish church and its officials. Material modifications made after 1920 once the chapel was made a parish church indicated communal satisfaction at the resolution of this long sought-after aim. That these late changes were minimal exposed the congregation's collective self-assurance and implied they were the key agents involved.

The characteristics of liturgical arrangements considered transcended language as a source of information about past human and material activity. The selective data collected from each interior studied facilitated the specific questions asked. The material arrangements between 1634 and 1925 represented resources available to communities in two separate regions, as well as local conventions, and how more official rules were interpreted. They conveyed something about communal interrelationships, about relationships between human actors and material arrangements installed within churches and chapels-of-ease, and about resultant material activity.

English-speaking upper classes were evident in the official records at all times in all the sites surveyed. However the value of this project's archaeological, structuration and biographical approaches was the material visibility, in the simplicity of Manx interiors, of the activities of a wider range of individuals and social groups, as did the lack of definition between Manx chancels and naves after about 1800. High social, English-speaking, agency was more overtly discernible materially because of this cohort's access to monetary resources which accessed manpower, craftsmanship and commodities not available to those lower down the social scale who, in both Man and Wales, did not usually use English language.

Despite the mixed messages given within what were purported to be purely Anglican venues, it was no surprise that in Castletown the 10th Earl of Derby was the major agent in driving use of his marble table, or that in Leighton patron Naylor persuaded ecclesiastical officials that the installation of expensive highly decorative Minton floor tiles throughout his church was appropriate. Shared subjective perceptions of the worth of persons of elevated social rank were reiterated every Sunday in the liturgical arrangements displayed inside churches and chapels-of-ease throughout the regions and periods studied. Even when free seating became available and the necessity for graveyard burials rather than burials under family pews confirmed, traditional perceptions persevered. Some high status families retained personal pews and continued to bury their dead within their churches. Governor Smelt was buried in the Castletown chapel as late as 1832.

The activities of that class were evident in the large numbers of highly visible commemorative gifts noted. Church authorities, who had, by law, to approve materials before they could be installed inside churches, clearly supported these activities. So the Church actively sought to maintain its own position in society by perpetuating social inequalities within a system which more overtly purported to encompass all. This paradigm was displayed in the liturgical arrangements within all the churches and chapels-of-ease studied, as was lay activity that reflected subsequent changed social relationships.

Unoccupied seats, relatively early use of free seating, the plethora of Nonconformist chapels in the landscape and the particular liturgical arrangements that evolved inside Manx Anglican churches and chapels all evidenced demographic and social changes that eventually afforded parishioners of all ranks active choices not previously available to them.

Habitus and expressions of regional cultural identity

Generally, the characteristics of material culture considered indicated a strong English influence on Manx and Welsh *habitus*. For instance, material references to the Derbys in Kirk Malew and the Castletown chapels perceived as Manx were as visible in the material culture of the village of Knowsley in Lancashire. Seating arrangements in Manx churches and chapels-of-ease actively replicated English status-consciousness. That those who attended Kirk Malew and the Castletown chapels-of-ease competed socially was particularly apparent in the seating arrangements within the Anglican buildings in use within that parish.

The influence and activities of ordinary parishioners evident materially in Welsh and Manx churches and chapels-of-ease, despite the best activities of the upper classes to influence liturgical arrangements, suggested that although similar rules structured devotional practices in both regions, ecclesiastical officials allowed local populations to interpret those rules personally to some extent when that did not encroach onto central canonical tenets. For example, the relatively late and incomplete ecclesiological renovations visible in Manx interiors suggested entrenched low-church devotional practices that probably reflected a degree of independence from Parliamentary rule and belated installation of travel and communication infrastructures, all related to location and weak economic development. The Methodist hierarchy's rejection of the Manx language and the continued power of the Manx ecclesiastical courts delayed the formal implementation of Nonconformism in Man.

Those actively articulated dissident ideas were expressed, albeit moderately, within Manx Anglican churches and chapels-of-ease in material ambiguity between chancel and nave spaces, but not in any of the Welsh Anglican buildings studied. However, the early provision in Man of free seating that evidenced a collective culture that underrated social divisions between ordinary farming communities was also visible in Trelystan where no Nonconformist chapel was ever built.

Low-church paradigms were also actively expressed in Man in evident clerical reluctance to distinguish themselves by their dress or to wear surplices, and by the very late use of altar candles and crosses. Yates et al.'s statement that the Manx Church absorbed non-extremist Puritan influences in ways that were unique in the British Isles (forthcoming: 4) continued into the twentieth century.

The biographies included exposed the *habitus* of those involved, and reiterated the Island's close relationship with England although analyses of selected characteristics of material liturgical arrangements revealed that despite off-Island influences visible inside Manx churches and chapels-of-ease between 1634 and 1925, local communities actively adapted some of those material arrangements to reflect local cultural preferences. Their acceptance by English ecclesiastical authorities was as visible materially as a successful a management strategy in Man, as elsewhere.

A number of regionally and parochially specific variations were identified. For instance, despite the impact of the 1765 Revestment on communities in and around the Island capital of Castletown and that town's recovery clearly visible in the material culture of Kirk Malew and it Castletown chapels-of-ease as discussed in Chapter VIII, this was absent in the material arrangements in the much more rural parish of Ballaugh, suggesting more local and transient activity in the south of the Island.

Material evidence of regional identity was less evident in the small number of Welsh Anglican interiors studied, possibly related to long English secular governance in Wales, the relatively early hierarchical acceptance of Nonconformism which embraced Welsh language and offered opportunities for expressions of Welshness and dissent outside the Anglican Church, and the proximity of the Welsh churches included in this project to the Welsh/English border.

Trends discovered

The material culture and arrangements considered in both regions, as expected, matched Yates' findings that the Manx ecclesiastical hierarchy involved saw themselves as 'wholly Protestant' in the early modern period (2006: 7). However, patterns closely related with English political events during and after the seventeenth-century Commonwealth which Moore, Yates, and Platten suggested had little influence on Manx Anglican practices, were clearer archaeologically. Material alterations noted between around 1634 and 1665 in the use of altar cloths, altars, altar rails, communion plate, fonts, surplices and use of the BCP that represented the transfer of key activity from ecclesiastical authorities to Parliamentary agents had largely reverted to the status quo by 1719. Although the period between 1634 and

1665 far exceeded that between the beginning of the Civil War and Charles II's enthronement, the absence of evidence of other social and/or political upheaval suggested a period of considerable devotional change in Man between perhaps *c.* 1650 and 1660, and subsequent reversion to episcopal authority by 1663. The trends noted appeared to mirror those in England more closely than secondary sources or previous research suggested even though prevalent rules remained different in Man from those in England and Wales. However, the material changes discovered could not tell how actively Manx congregations agreed with the original disruption, or indeed, with Bishop Barrow's subsequent prescriptions.

Apparently when Wesley visited the Island in May 1777, as commemorated on a plaque in the town square in Castletown, he wrote that 'this Island is shut up from the world; there are no Disputers, no Dissenters of any kind' (Haining 1824: 55). That was not what the ecclesiastical material culture showed. Those who lived in the Island must have been aware of changes in Parliamentary law that allowed religious dissent in England and Wales because this was visible inside Manx churches from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, even though the same rules did not prevail. Simple interiors and plain arrangements inside Anglican venues like those at St Mark's which was built in 1772, implied knowledge of the auditory form of Wren's churches, familiarity with the material language of ascetic egalitarian ideas expressed within English and Welsh Nonconformist chapel interiors, and active congregational involvement in their implementation. Similar ideas perpetuated into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in incomplete ecclesiological renovations and lack of material definition between chancel and nave in many rural, Manx, Anglican churches and chapels-of-ease reflected continued communal activity.

Some other persistent geographical variations were also noted. For example Manx and Welsh communities had different access to the resources of materials and workmanship. Use of large quantities of quality timber and related artisanship, visible in all of the Welsh churches, including even the small, remote and economically-challenged community in Trelystan, were not discovered in any of the Manx buildings. However, the relatively-early, minimal, high quality ecclesiological changes made in Trelystan came about largely because of a single patron's generosity. Their incompleteness reflected a limited, once-only gift, as well as this community's continued low activity because of its isolated location, small

population, lack of gentry, and agrarian economy. Possibly the simple Trelystan interior, along with prevailing economic conditions, actively facilitated the absence of any Nonconformist chapel within that community because those with modest dissident leanings may have perceived the ascetic style of the liturgical arrangements there as appropriate.

Similar trends perpetuated simplicity and incompleteness of ecclesiological arrangements discernible in most rural, Manx, Anglican churches. Continued shared puritan ethics within Anglican congregations were active, competitive rural gentry to act as benefactors were in short supply, and the Island's continued largely agrarian economic structure curtailed access to the resources that might have facilitated grander interiors. The lack of ready access to timber supplies in Man for logistical and/or economic reasons may have contributed to congregational inactivity and consequent deterioration of Manx buildings and contents, as often recorded at periodic Episcopal visitations, as well as to the comparatively late retention of traditional material arrangements.

Nineteenth-century ecclesiological changes made in both regions showed marked regional variations in resources available. In Wales, the extensive use of oak implied its ready availability. Transport costs must have been low. Even in Trelystan oak was utilized extensively.

Less expensive pine was used in rural Manx buildings for large items like benches and pews. Although the Irish Sea was a commercial highway the financial impact of having to import coal and wood meant these commodities were not so available in the Island as on the British mainland, and this was reflected materially inside Manx Anglican buildings. The simple style of rural Manx Anglican liturgical arrangements echoed the Island's relative isolation, and the stability of the Ballaugh congregation visible in its seating arrangements, the smaller scale of its Industrial Revolution.

Nonconformism arrived late in Man. The Island's exclusion from the requirements of the 1662 Parliamentary Act of Uniformity allowed clergy with low-church leanings to continue to practice actively within the Anglican Church and did not produce the seventeenth-century cohort of excluded dissident clergymen that it did in England and Wales. Simultaneously, the continued official authority of the Manx ecclesiastical courts encouraged temperate lay dissenters to continue to worship within Anglican buildings, as did their material concessions. In the absence

of other religious venues until the end of the eighteenth century, the plain Manx Anglican interiors and lack of definition of nave and chancel reflected an active communal ascetic paradigm within the contexts of constrained economic conditions and compromise on the part of the Church's hierarchy to accommodate such ideas.

Outcomes were not always those planned. For instance, the generous but subsequently less-used nineteenth-century seating arrangements installed in all the churches and chapels studied indicated that demographic trends related to rural emigration and migration to urban centres, the effects of the popularity of Nonconformism, and changes in the law that allowed individuals to make active devotional choices, had not been anticipated in either region.

Opportunities for Manx historical archaeological research

The process of discovering the theoretical approach taken allowed for engagement with contemporary historical church archaeology and related disciplines. Meanings dependent on variations in power, and in economic and social contexts (Dobres and Robb 2000: 7) as well as in culture and belief, became visible materially. For example the distinct liturgical material culture in use in Castletown was shown to have been perceived as having different meanings from similar arrangements in place elsewhere, just because of related contexts of perceptions of authority, variations in access to financial resources, and probable relationships between the Castletown and more rural Manx clergy, and between them all and their congregations.

Post-processual tactics allowed for the placing of the historical period in the small geographical region of the Isle of Man within wider archaeological contexts. Consideration of selected characteristics of Manx historical ecclesiastical material culture from an archaeological perspective revealed some previously unconsidered information which has challenged previous perceptions of activities in Man during the Commonwealth period.

The methodology followed that allowed for the use of documentary and other sources for evidence about the use of material culture and arrangements no longer in existence, flagged up a number of regional issues that would benefit from further research because this study could not determine how representative its findings in the Island were.

This project was also apparently unusual in its investigation of chapels-of-ease. Except for Paul's 2005 review of a small number of Anglican chapels in Hereford from an historical perspective, no research of chapels-of-ease was discovered. As considerable documentary evidence about characteristics of material culture inside Manx and Welsh chapels-of-ease was accessed despite their lower status than parish churches, this seemed a largely untapped source of historical archaeological information.

This project widened the parameters of historical church archaeology by adding consideration of the contents of post-Reformation Manx churches and chapels-of-ease, and the four Welsh buildings included, into the international academic archaeological corpus. None were discovered to have been considered previously as contexts for comparative archaeological research, which raised issues not recognized by previous Anglo-centric work. For instance Parry's statement that medieval lofts had been removed from most churches by Elizabethan times (2006: 87) did not take into consideration what may have happened in Wales or in Man, or the two lofts noted, which this study has argued were probably *in situ* until during and after the seventeenth century. Also, the late installation of Royal Arms in Manx Crown livings, unrelated to sixteenth-century English political events, may have been replicated elsewhere.

Much material culture inside the buildings studied was excluded from this study, not because its characteristics did not tell something about related human activity, but because of the need to adhere to aims and objectives within strict time and length constraints. This affords opportunities for further research of different materials within the same buildings that might support, or indeed challenge, meanings found by this project. Another prospect was the material evidence of female activities noted.

In hindsight, neither Ballaugh, which was in the minority in Man in remaining a rectory, nor Malew, which was shown to have been significantly different from other parishes because it contained the Island's capital and the government chapels, were typical Manx parishes, although clear differences between rural and urban, as well as northern and southern, Manx communities were demonstrated. Further studies of the material culture related to other Manx parish churches might ascertain whether meanings identified were regionally typical, or less so.

Similarly, in mid-Wales this study added an unexpected dimension because related communities lay so close to the Welsh/English border. Outcomes would be clarified by further archaeological studies within Welsh churches situated elsewhere within Wales.

Conclusions reached by this project remain open to debate just because of the hermeneutic approach taken. Shared theories which informed wider research about the material culture inside churches allowed for comparisons which added to historical church archaeology, and may whet appetites for future research. Once published, such opportunities for discussion and formal investigation can only add to the international academic corpus.

Illustrations

Figure 1: Irish Sea Basin (not to scale)

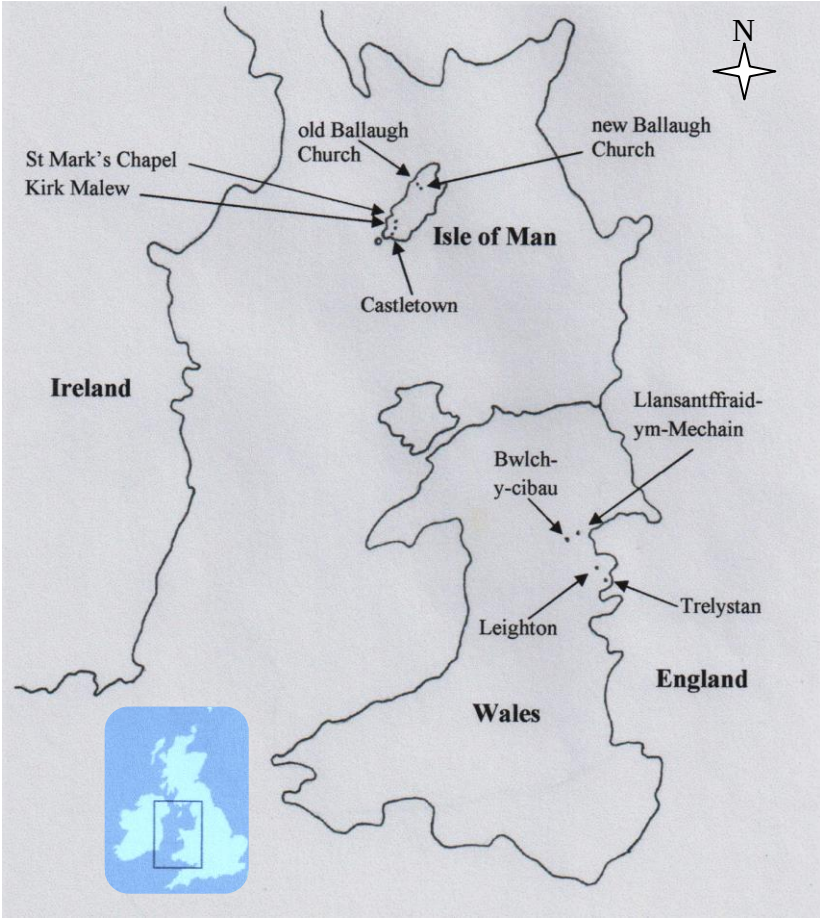


Figure 2: St Michael's medieval chapel near Castletown (King 1656)

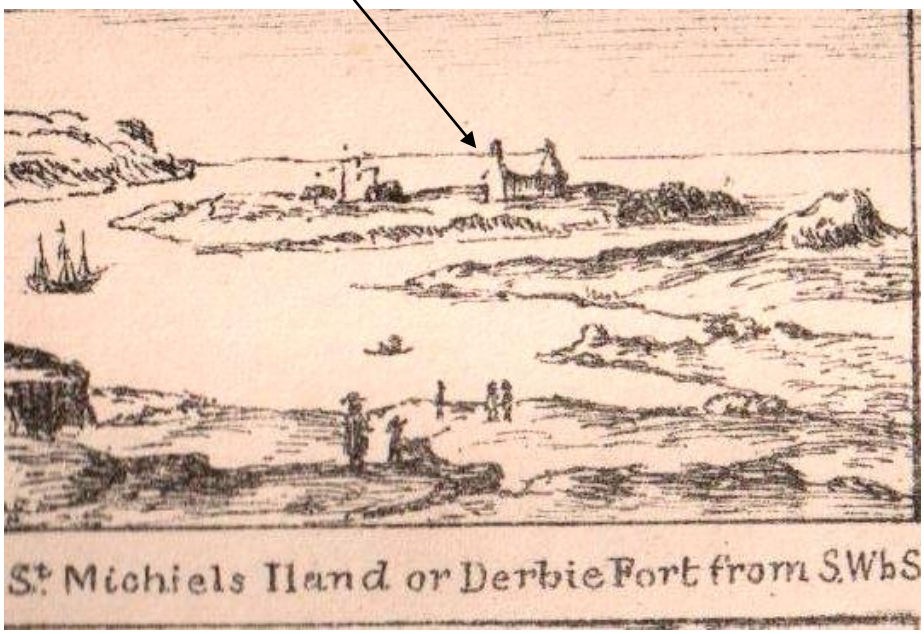


Figure 3: Castletown from St Michael's Isle (King 1656)

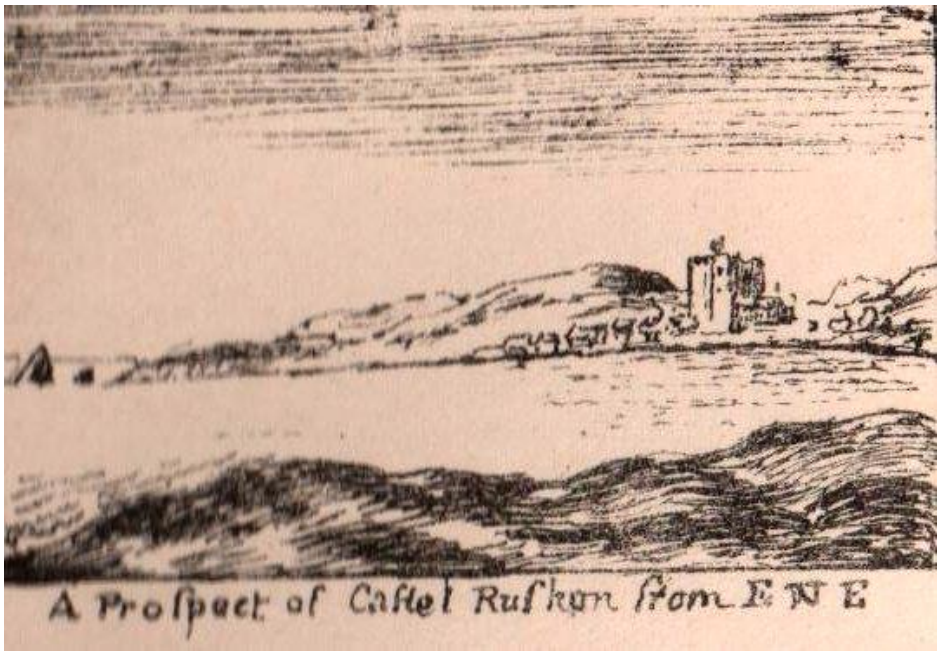


Figure 4: Castletown (King 1656)

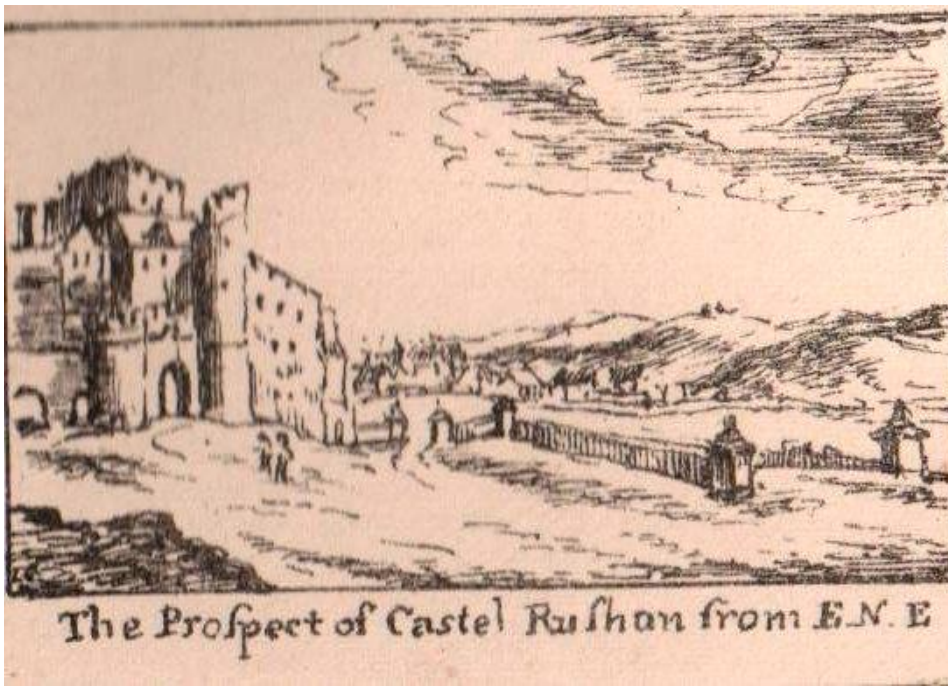


Figure 5: Ancient Manx parishes (based on Dugdale 1998, figure 4)

Figure 6: Map of the Isle of Man ‘engraved for Feltham’s Tour thro’ the Isle of Mann’ (Feltham 1798: viii)

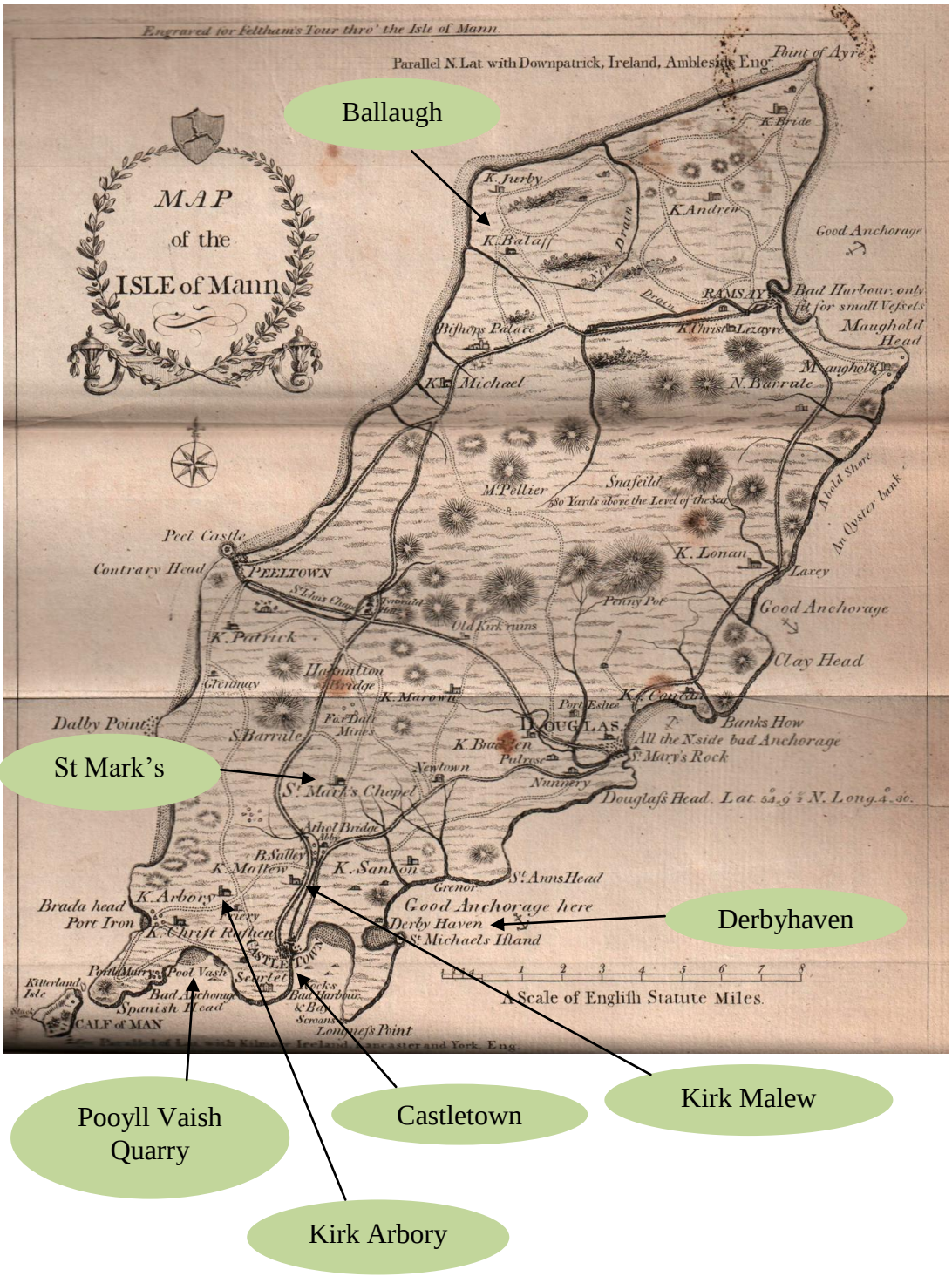


Figure 7a: old Ballaugh Parish Church prior to1717 (not to scale)

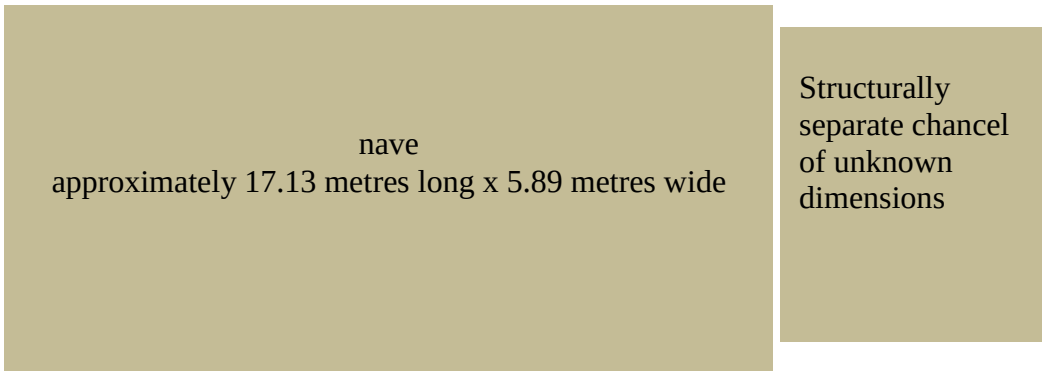


Figure 7b: old Ballaugh Parish Church 1717-1849 (not to scale)

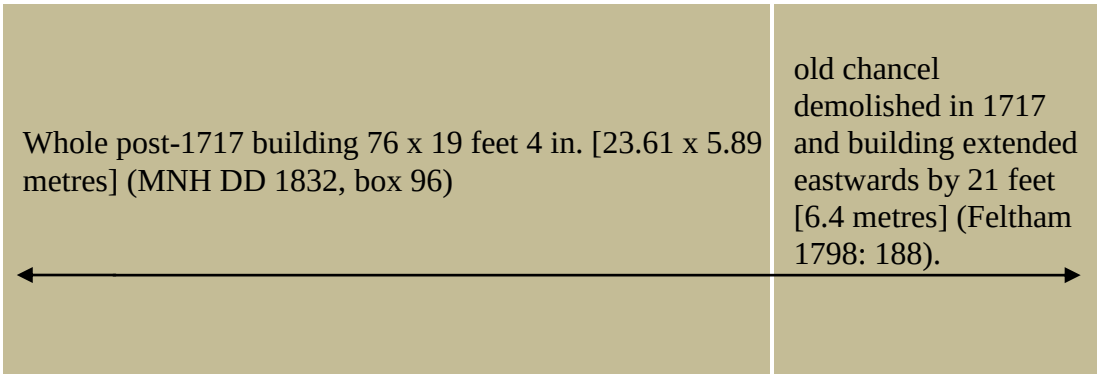


Figure 7c: old Ballaugh Parish Church 1849-present day (not to scale)

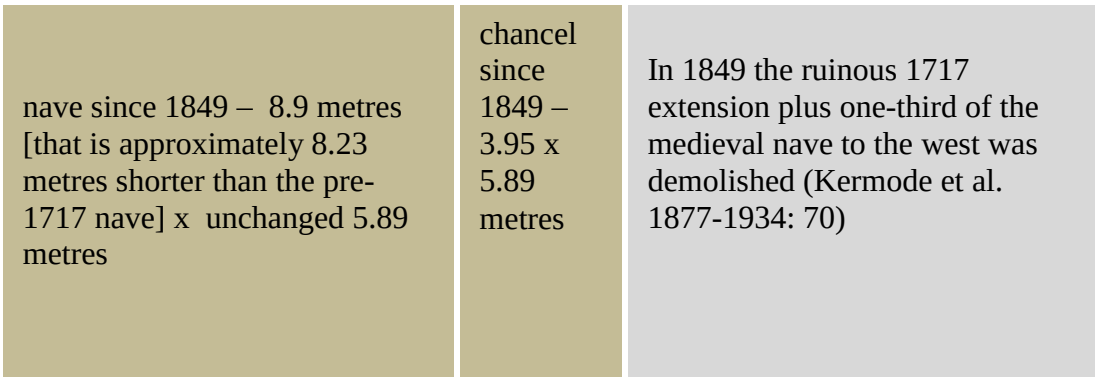


Figure 8: old Ballaugh Parish Church from the southwest *c.* 1700
(Oliver 1868, courtesy of MNH)

Figure 9: old Ballaugh Parish Church from the northwest
(Ward *c.* 1830, courtesy of MNH)

Figure 10: old Ballaugh Parish Church from the northeast (© Jonathan Latimer 2010)

Figure 11: old Ballaugh detail of benches that match roof beams installed in 1849 (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 12: old Ballaugh floor plan (Sharpe 2003, not to scale)

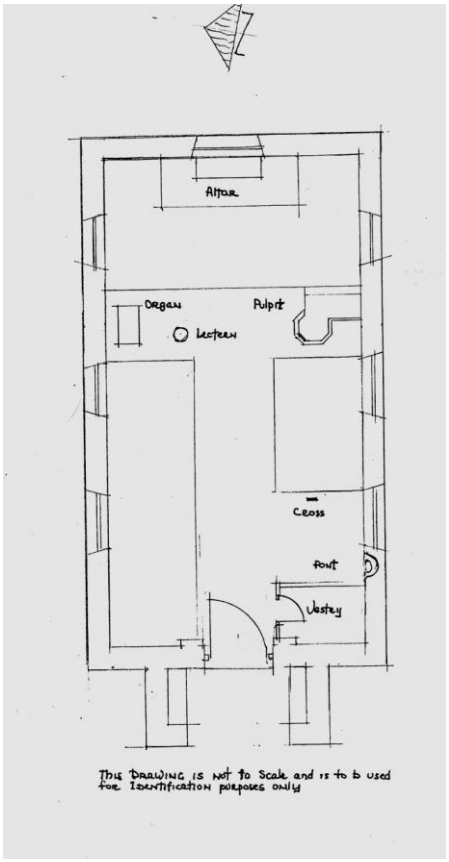


Figure 13: old Ballaugh interior east end. Lectern and pulpit within chancel (author's photograph 2011)

Figure 14: old Ballaugh altar-table with detail (© Jonathan Latimer 2011)

Figure 15: old Ballaugh altar candlesticks (© Jonathan Latimer 2011)

Figure 16: old Ballaugh altar cross with detail (© Jonathan Latimer 2011)

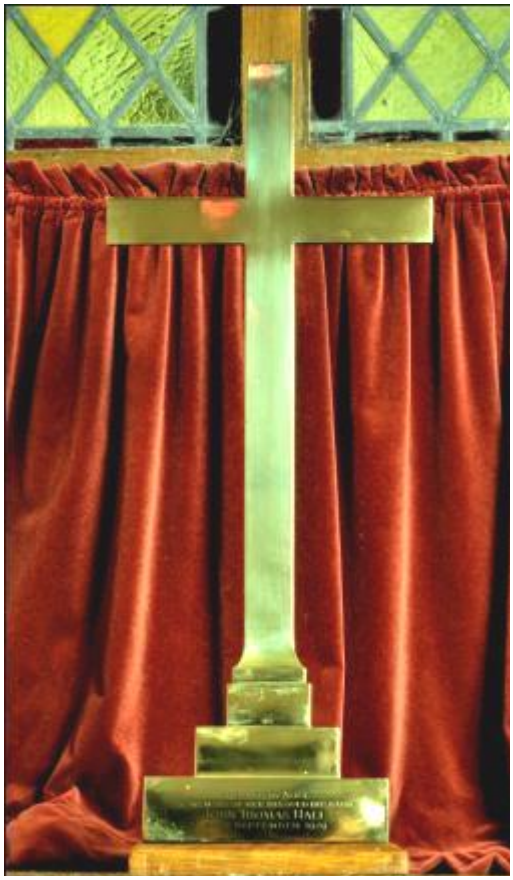


Figure 17a: old Ballaugh pewter plate 1710 (author's photograph)

Figure 17b: old Ballaugh silver chalices 1795/6 (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 18: old Ballaugh Decalogue (photographed in the new church, © Jonathan Latimer 2012)

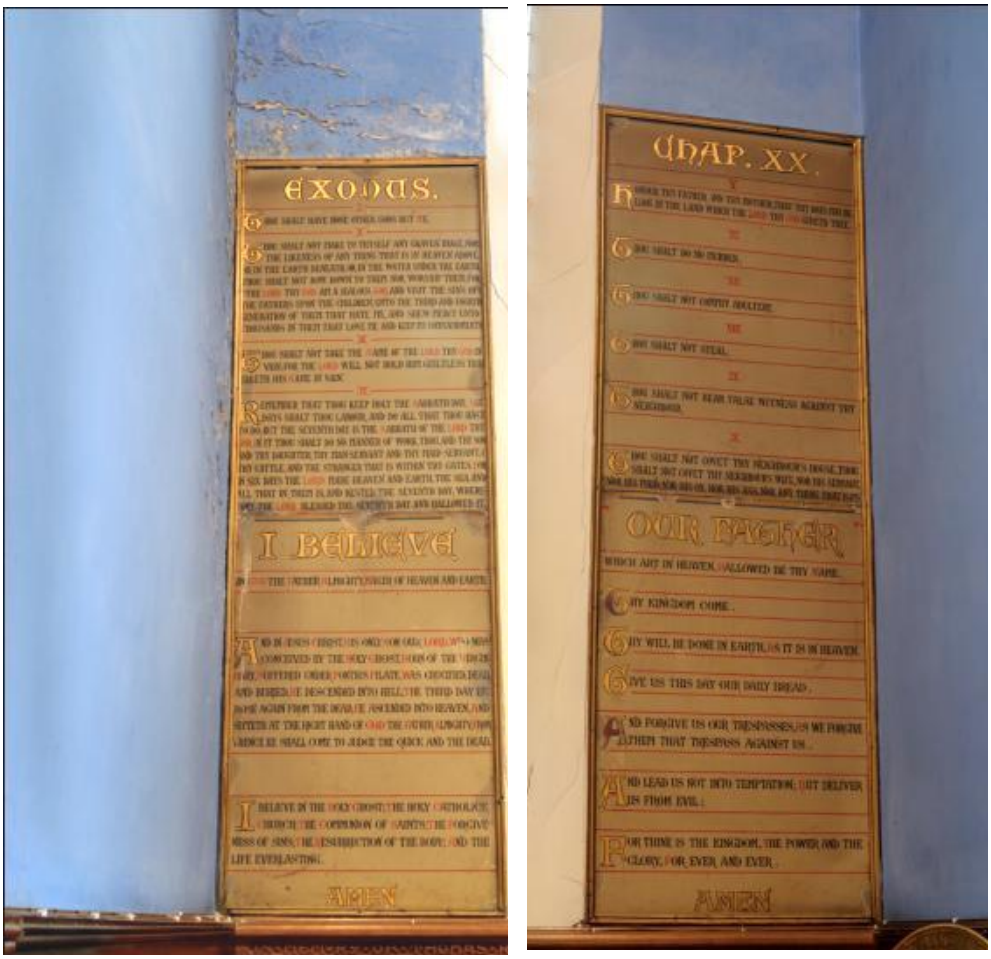


Figure 19: old Ballaugh Parish Church seating plan 1740
(author's interpretation of MNH EPR)

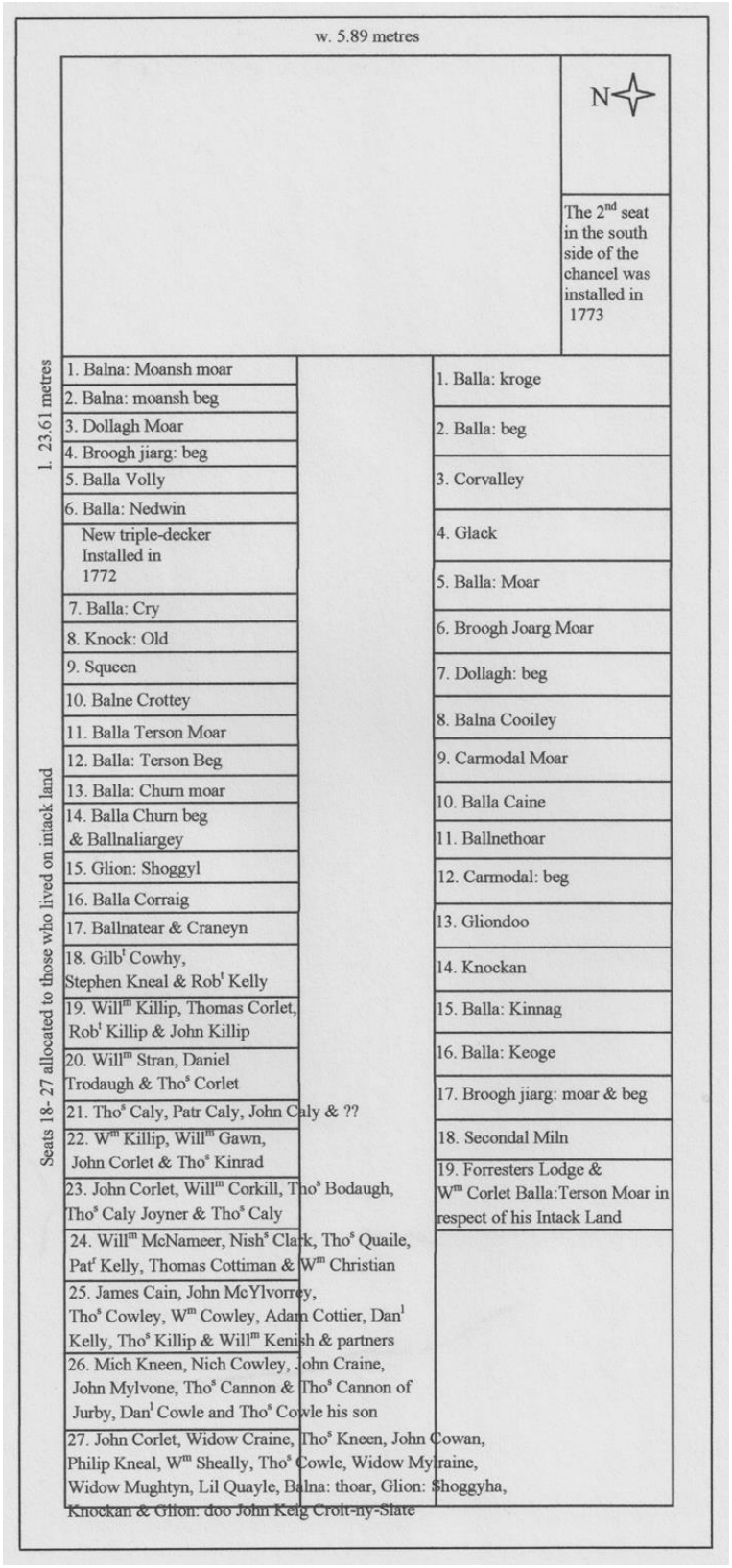


Figure 20: old Ballaugh Parish Church seating plan 1830
(courtesy of MNH, DD Ballaugh)

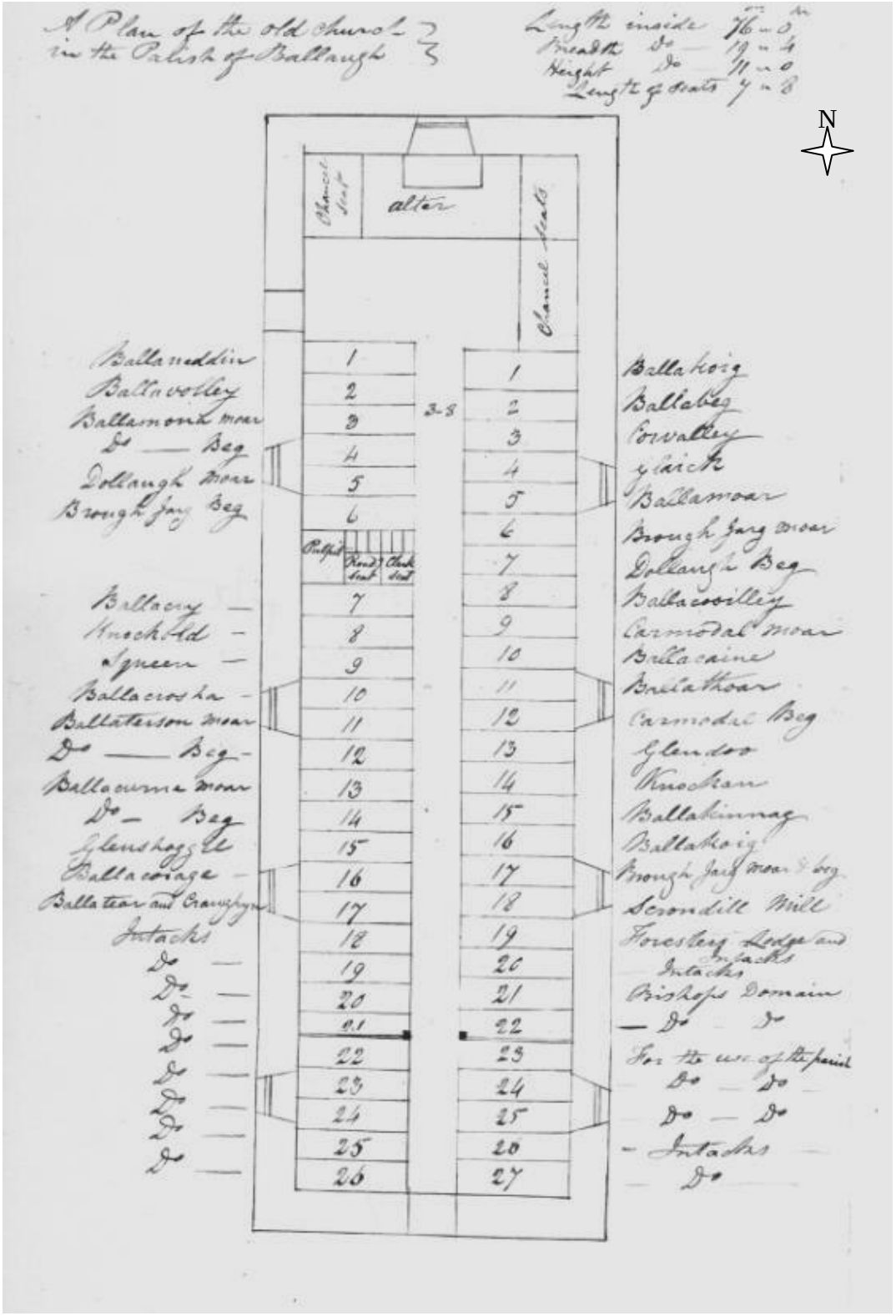


Figure 21: new Ballaugh Parish Church built in 1832 from the south east showing structurally separate sanctuary (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 22: new Ballaugh Parish Church seating plan 1832 (courtesy of MNH, MNH DD, Ballaugh box 96)

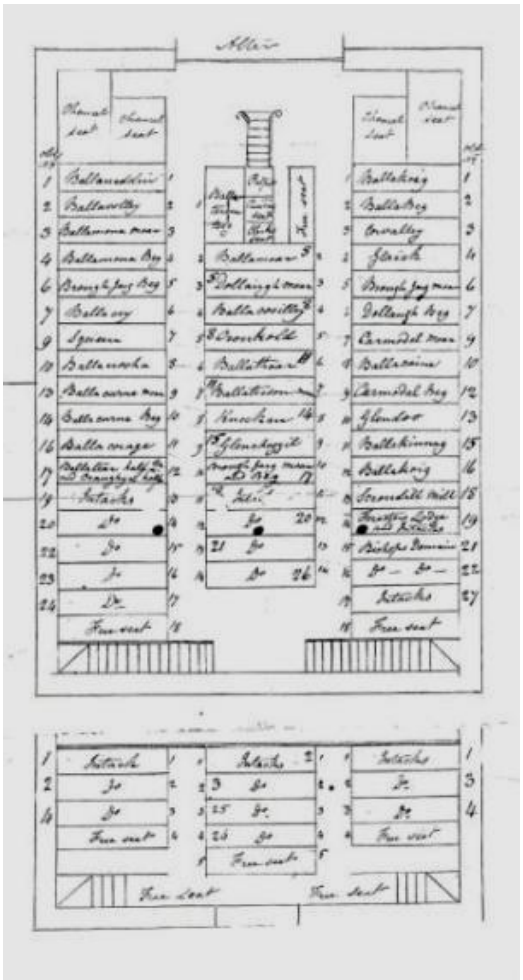


Figure 23: new Ballaugh Parish Church Royal Arms (post-1830)
(© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 24: new Ballaugh Parish Church inside from west end. Lectern and pulpit within chancel (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 25: new Ballaugh Parish Church floor plan (not to scale, Dariel Sayle 2012)

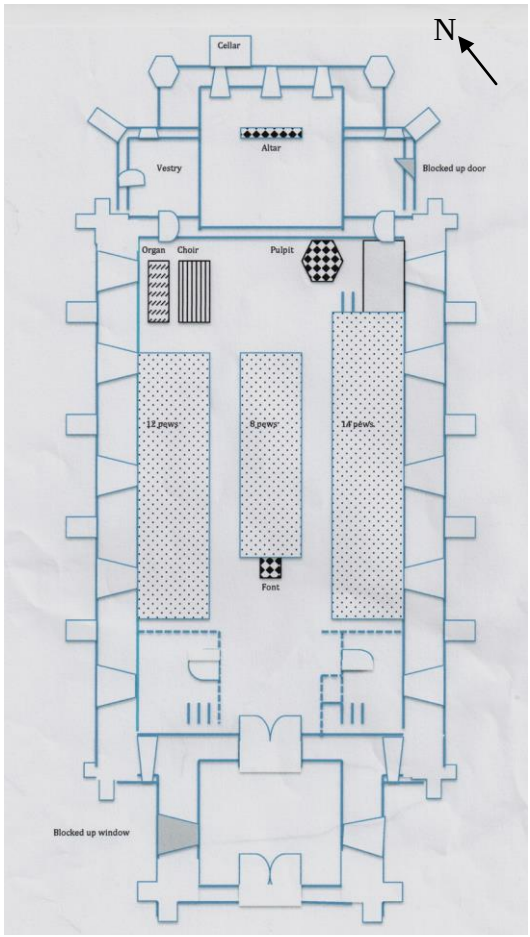
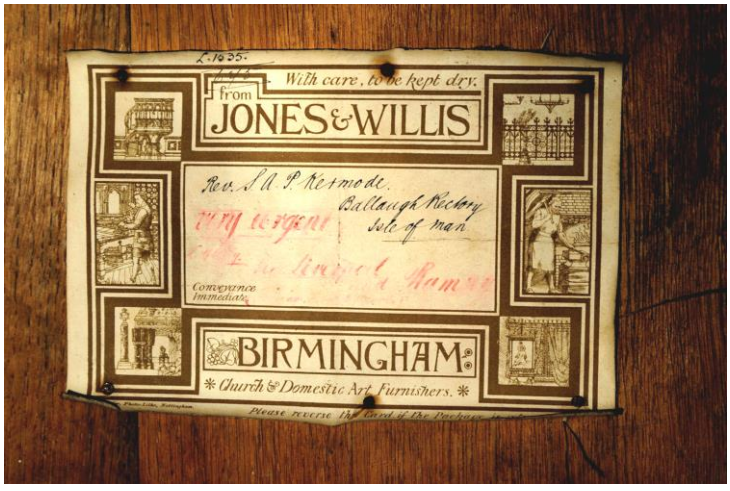


Figure 26: new Ballaugh Parish Church sanctuary floor installed in 1892 (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 27: new Ballaugh Parish Church pulpit installed in the chancel in 1893 (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 28: new Ballaugh Parish Church altar installed in 1893 (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)



Figures 29: new Ballaugh Parish Church altar candlesticks with detail (author's photograph 2013)

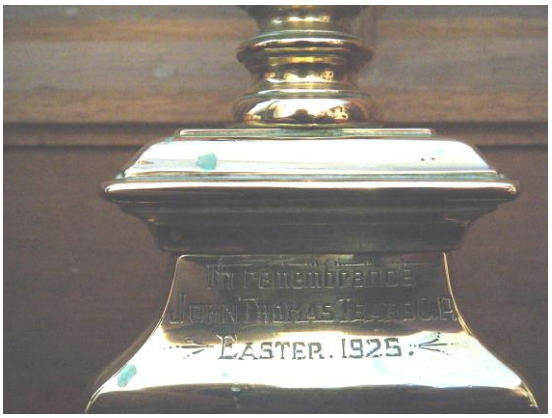


Figure 30: new Ballaugh Parish Church altar cross (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

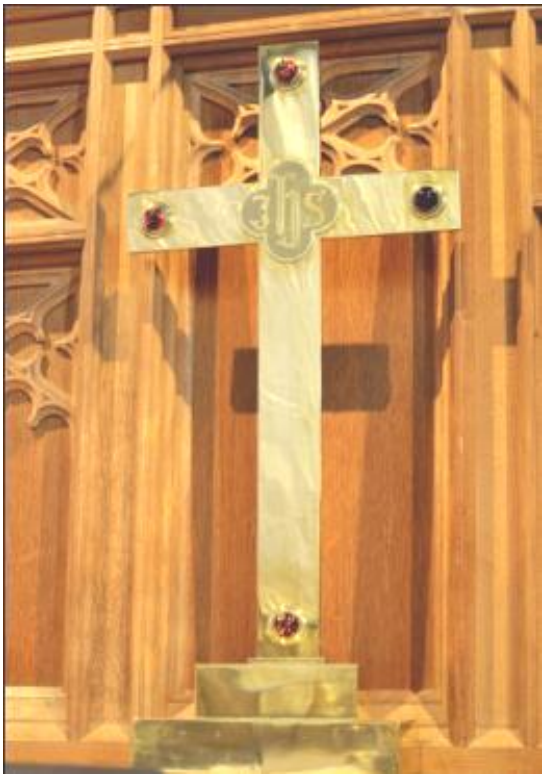


Figure 31: Kirk Malew from the southwest (author's photograph 2010)

Figure 32: Kirk Malew motifs at northwest end of nave (author's photographs 2012 and 2010)

Figure 33: Kirk Malew medieval paten (Jones 1911, plate II , courtesy of www.manxnotebook.com)

PATEN, KIRK MALEW, ISLE OF MAN.

Figure 34: Kirk Malew from the southwest *c.* 1700
(Oliver 1868, courtesy of MNH)

Figure 35: Kirk Malew floor plan (Sharpe 2003, not to scale)

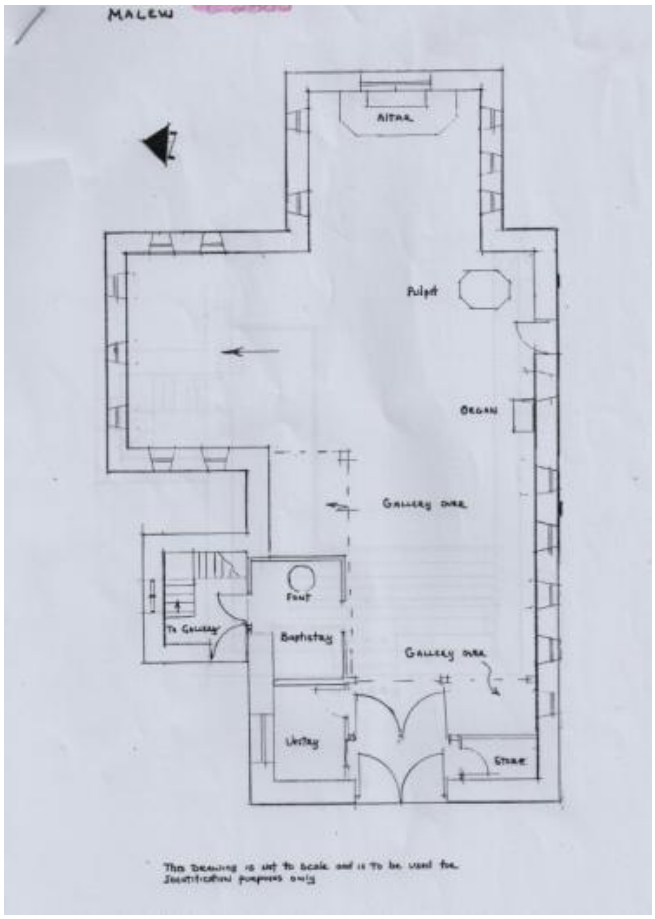


Figure 36: Kirk Malew silver chalices 1781/2 (Jones 1911: plate XIV)

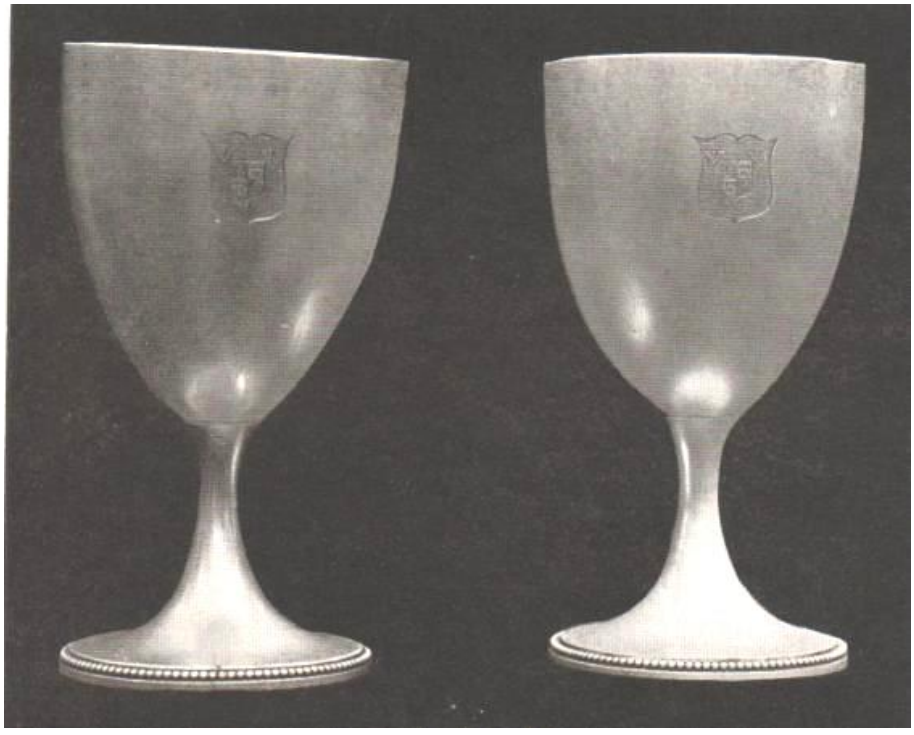
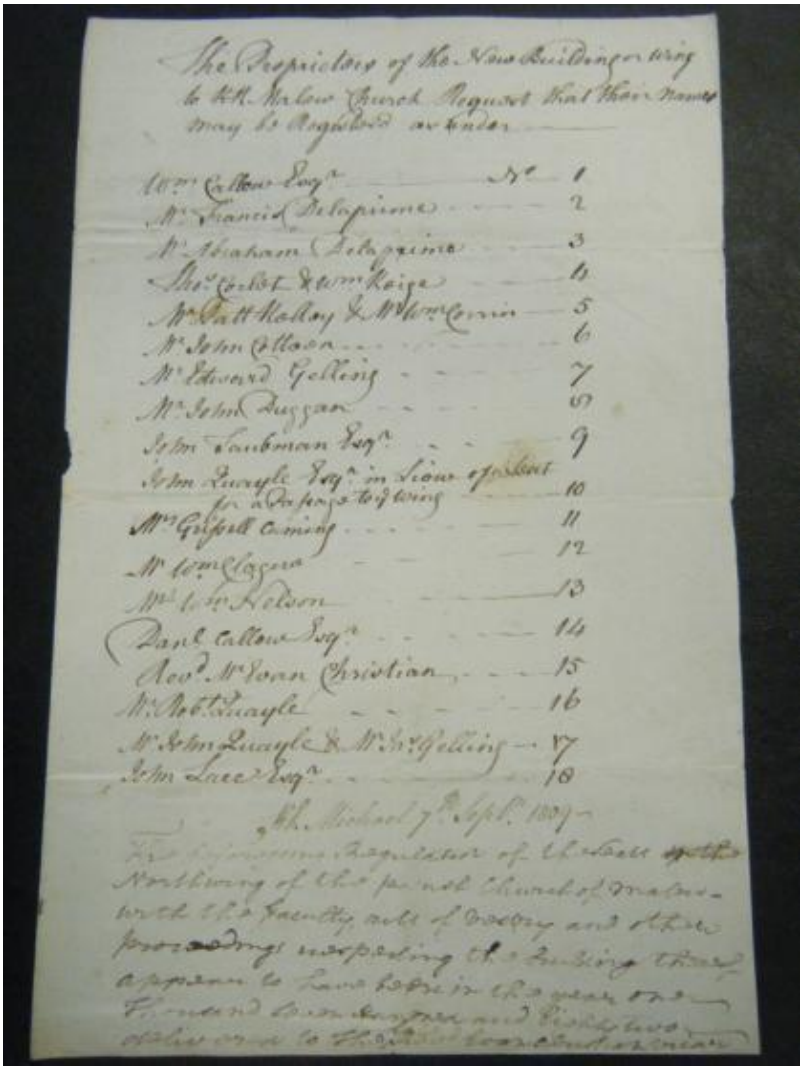


Figure 37: Kirk Malew north transept seating plan *c.* 1781
(courtesy of MNH, MNH DD Malew 1809. box 103)



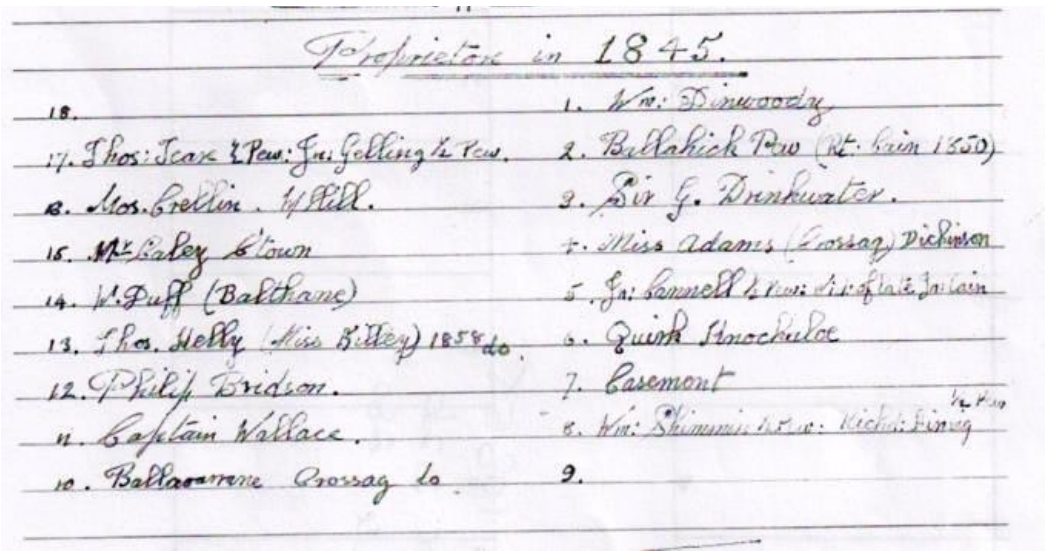
The Proprietors of the New Buildings wing to the Malew Church Request that their names may be Registered as under

Wm Callow Esqr	Nº 1
Mr Francis Pelapriome	2
Mr Abraham Pelapriome	3
Thos Corlett & Wm Keige	4
Mr Patt Kelley & Mr Wm Cowin	5
Mr John Cloven	6
Mr Edward Gelling	7
Mr John Duggan	8
John Taubman Esqr	9
John Quayle Esqr in Liew of Corlett for a Passage to Wing	10
Mrs Griffith Caining	11
Mr Wm Clague	12
Mr Wm Kelson	13
Paul Callow Esqr	14
Revd Mr Wm Christian	15
Mr Robt Quayle	16
Mr John Quayle & Mr Jno Gelling	17
John Lace Esqr	18

St Michael 7th Sept 1809

For Improving Regulation of the Seats in the Northwing of the parish Church of Malew with the Faculty Acts of Vestry and other proceedings respecting the Building thereof appears to have been in the year one thousand eight hundred and Eighty two when one to the Gallery Compartment [illegible]

Figure 38: Kirk Malew north transept seating plan 1845 (courtesy of MNH, MNH DD Kirk Malew, box 32b, file 280)



Proprietors in 1845.

18.	1. Wm: Dinwoody
17. Thos: Teare & Pew: Jno Gelling & Pew.	2. Ballakilick Pew (Rt: Cain 1850)
16. Mrs. Gretton. ½ Hill.	3. Sir G. Drinkwater.
15. Mr Caley & Town	4. Miss Adams (Crossag) Dickinson
14. W. Duff (Balthame)	5. Jn: Connell & Pew: Sir G. Drinkwater & Cain
13. Thos. Kelly (Miss Kitley) 1858 do.	6. Quirk Knockaloe
12. Philip Bridson.	7. Casement
11. Captain Wallace.	8. Wm: Shimmin ½ Pew. Richd: Finney ½ Pew
10. Ballacorrane Crossag do	9.

Figure 39: Kirk Malew east end (Keig, after 1862, courtesy of Mannin Collections)

Figure 40: Kirk Malew chancel from west end (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 41a: Kirk Malew altar candlestick with detail

Figure 41b: Kirk Malew altar cross (author's photographs 2010)

Figure 42: medieval St Mary's Castletown from northwest (author's photograph 2012)

Figure 43: medieval St Mary's Castletown from the southwest
(author's photograph 2012)

Figure 44: medieval St Mary's Castletown floor plan
(Cubbon 1971: 2, courtesy of MNH)

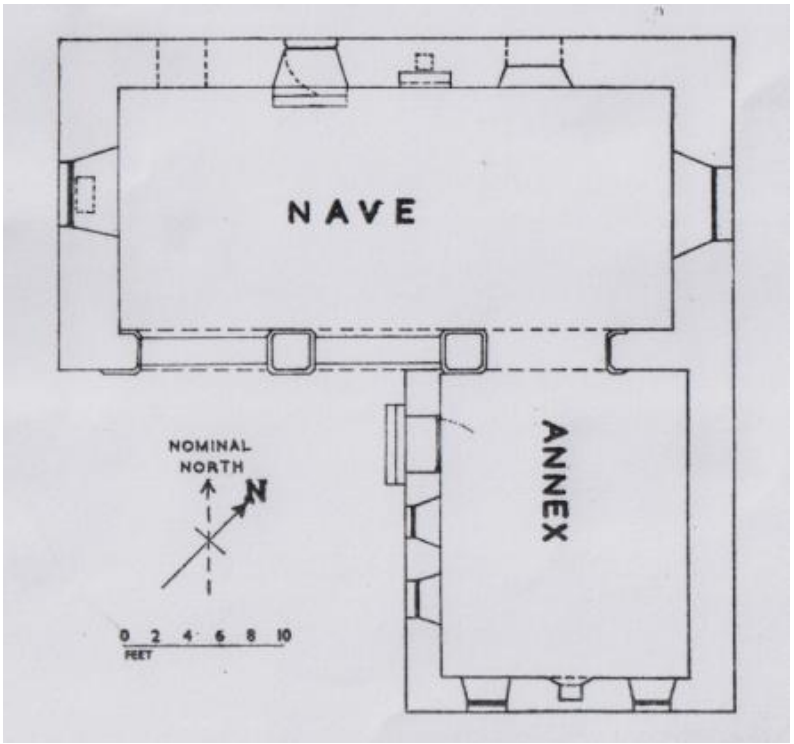


Figure 45: medieval St Mary's Castletown interior east end (author's photograph 2012)

Figure 46: 1701 St Mary's Castletown liturgical arrangements (not to scale) based on CRP 1705-1765 (Stott 2009), Feltham 1798: 268, MNH PR, Castletown 1807-1825, and Ralfe 1926: 46. The allocation of seat numbers 18 and 19 to the Bishop and the Duke of Atholl probably placed them at the east end of the traditionally prestigious south side of the building, which in the context of the 36 pews in place, informed this diagram.

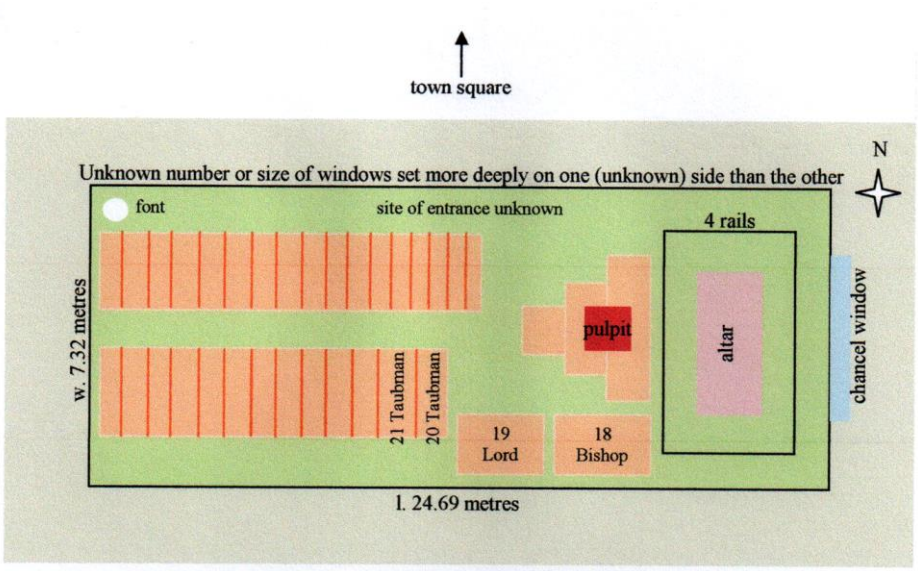
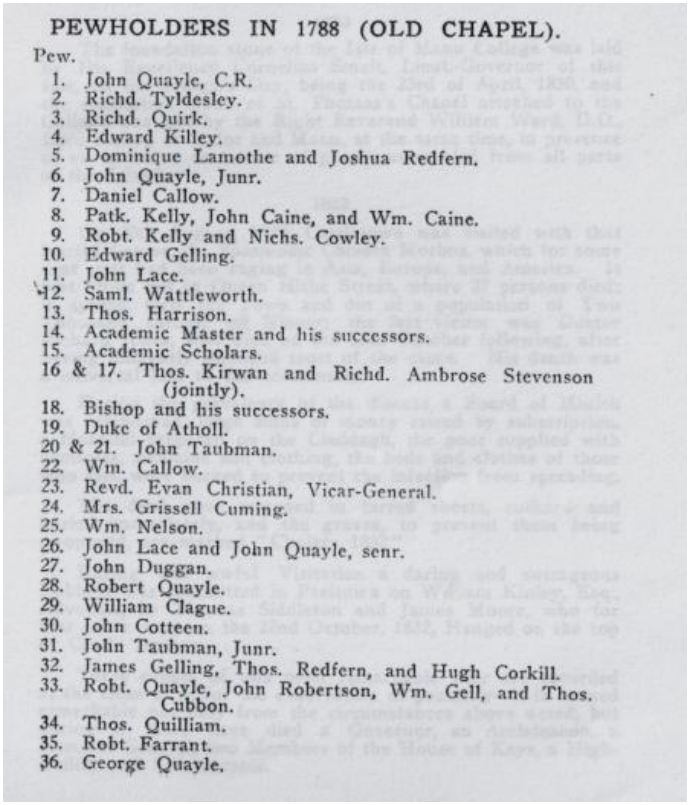


Figure 47: 1701 St Mary's Castletown seating plan 1788 (Ralfe 1926: 46)



PEWHOLDERS IN 1788 (OLD CHAPEL).

Pew.

1. John Quayle, C.R.
2. Richd. Tyldesley.
3. Richd. Quirk.
4. Edward Killey.
5. Dominique Lamothe and Joshua Redfern.
6. John Quayle, Junr.
7. Daniel Callow.
8. Patk. Kelly, John Caine, and Wm. Caine.
9. Robt. Kelly and Nichs. Cowley.
10. Edward Gelling.
11. John Lace.
12. Saml. Wattleworth.
13. Thos. Harrison.
14. Academic Master and his successors.
15. Academic Scholars.
16 & 17. Thos. Kirwan and Richd. Ambrose Stevenson (jointly).
18. Bishop and his successors.
19. Duke of Atholl.
20 & 21. John Taubman.
22. Wm. Callow.
23. Revd. Evan Christian, Vicar-General.
24. Mrs. Grissell Cuming.
25. Wm. Nelson.
26. John Lace and John Quayle, senr.
27. John Duggan.
28. Robert Quayle.
29. William Clague.
30. John Cotteen.
31. John Taubman, Junr.
32. James Gelling, Thos. Redfern, and Hugh Corkill.
33. Robt. Quayle, John Robertson, Wm. Gell, and Thos. Cubbon.
34. Thos. Quilliam.
35. Robt. Farrant.
36. George Quayle.

Figure 48: 1701 St Mary's Castletown chalice and paten 1661/2 (author's photographs 2010)

Figure 49: 1704 marble altar slab (author's photograph in Kirk Malew soon after it was installed there in 2011)

Figure 50: 1704 altar slab detail (author's photograph 2011)

Figure 51: 1704 altar slab inscription (Alan Cole 2012)

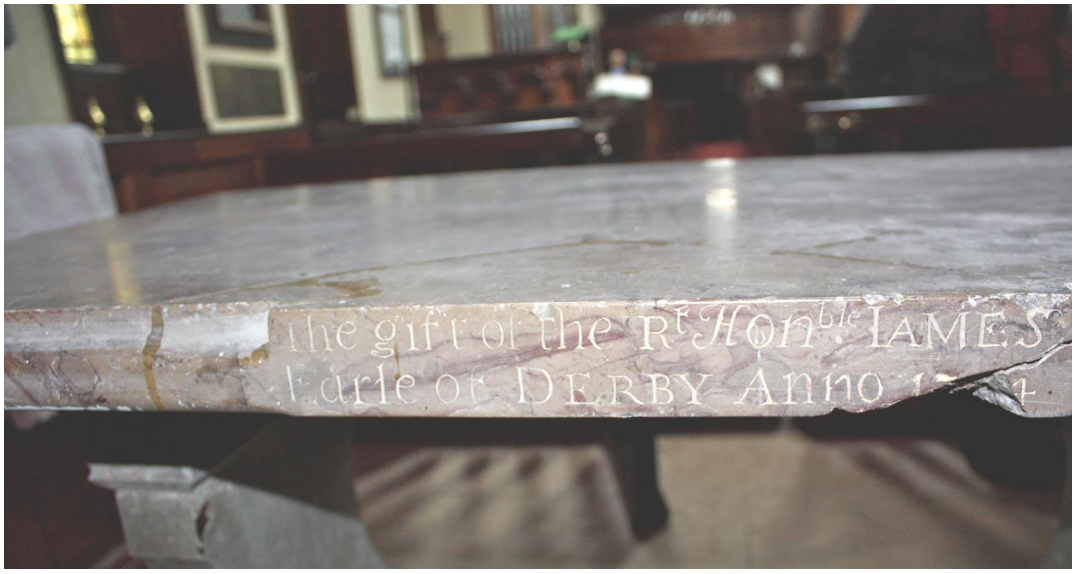
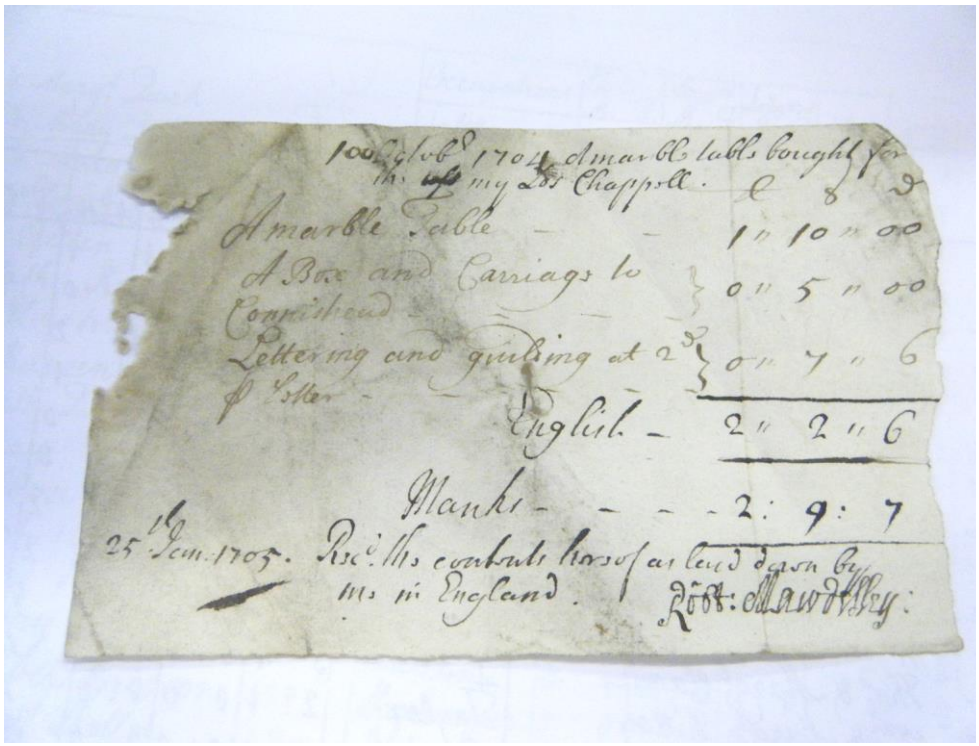


Figure 52: 1704 altar slab repairs (author's photograph 2009)

Figure 53: 1704 altar slab detail of repairs (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 54: 1704 altar slab supports added between 1855 and 1892 (author's photograph 2011)

Figure 55: Receipt of marble altar slab (courtesy of MNH, MNH CRP 1704)



100 Feb[y] 1704 A marble table bought for
the use of my Lr Chappell. £ s d
A marble Table — — 1 " 10 " 00
A Box and Carriage to
Convey the } 0 " 5 " 00
Lettering and guilding at 2[d] } 0 " 7 " 6
ye Letter —
English — 2 " 2 " 6
Flanch — — — 2: 9: 7
25[th] Jan. 1705. Rec[d] Mr Contents hereof as laid down by
Mr in England. Rob[t]: Clawdesley:

Figure 56: Employment of masons to source and make support
for marble altar table (courtesy of MNH, MNH CRP January 1705)

Chappell 1705 101
Work done for our
Honorable L[d] by John Quale and
Will Beamwell for Quarreing and working
Moulding Polishing and Joining my
New Frame for the Alter Table in the
new Chappell in Castle Town Ten } 18
Shillings
Exd & allowd
January y[e] 26
The Finish of this Work
attested by Mr
Richard Slater
Jan[y] y[e] 26[th] 1705
Rec[d] y[e] Contents
Rich[d] Armoldiding

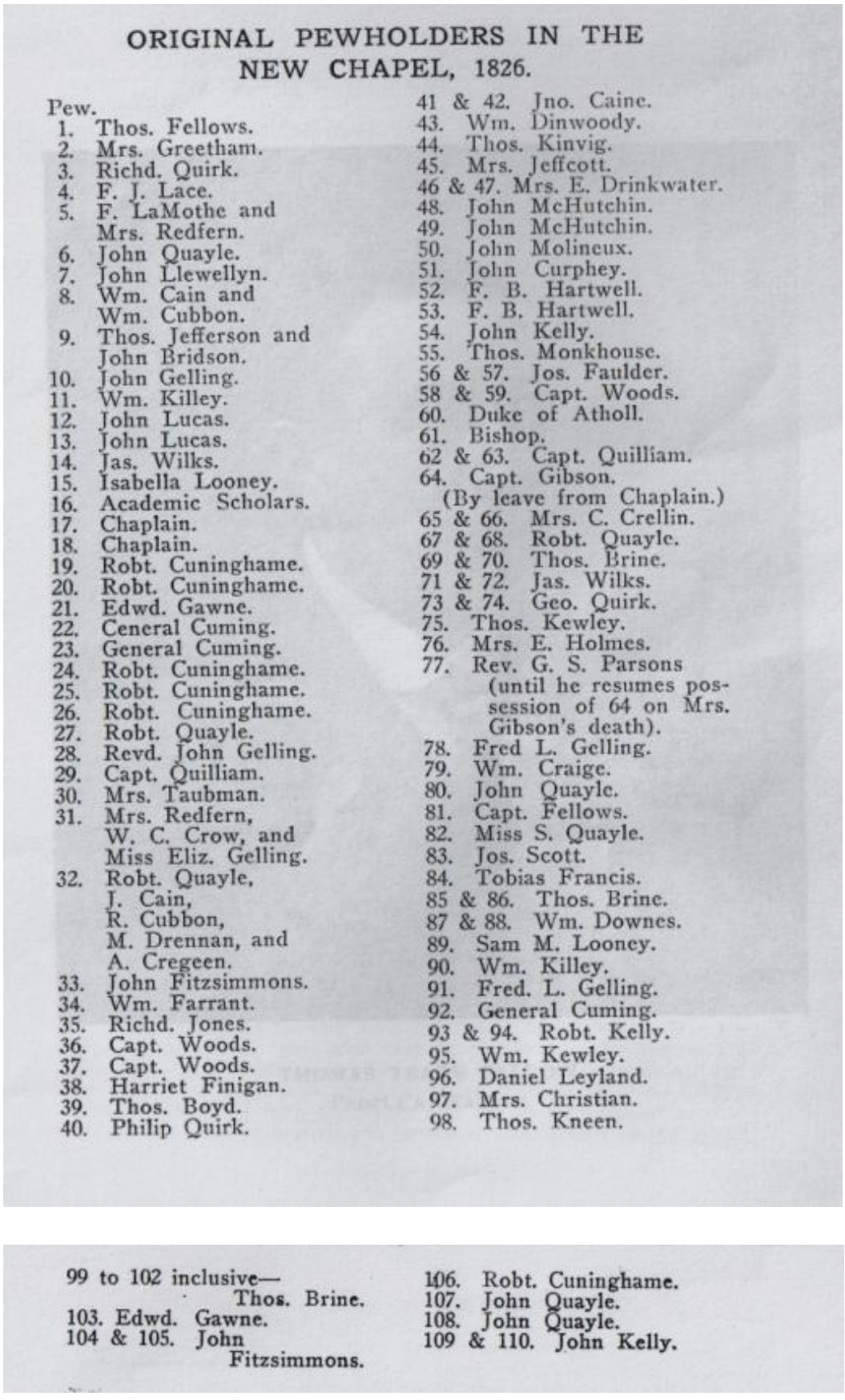
Figure 57: 1701 St Mary's Castletown Royal Arms installed in an unknown position between 1765 and 1801) (author's photograph in the present Castletown Parish Church 2012)

Figure 58: 1826 St Mary's Castletown from north *c.* 1890
(courtesy of IOM PRO)

Figure 59a: 1826 St Mary's Castletown candlesticks 1770/1 donated by Mrs Quilliam in 1843

Figure 59b: 1826 St Mary's Castletown communion cup 1725 donated by Mrs Quilliam in 1844 (author's photographs 2010)

Figure 60: 1826 St Mary's Castletown seating plan 1826 (Ralfe 1926: 47)



ORIGINAL PEWHOLDERS IN THE NEW CHAPEL, 1826.

Pew.
1. Thos. Fellows.
2. Mrs. Greetham.
3. Richd. Quirk.
4. F. J. Lace.
5. F. LaMothe and Mrs. Redfern.
6. John Quayle.
7. John Llewellyn.
8. Wm. Cain and Wm. Cubbon.
9. Thos. Jefferson and John Bridson.
10. John Gelling.
11. Wm. Killey.
12. John Lucas.
13. John Lucas.
14. Jas. Wilks.
15. Isabella Looney.
16. Academic Scholars.
17. Chaplain.
18. Chaplain.
19. Robt. Cuninghame.
20. Robt. Cuninghame.
21. Edwd. Gawne.
22. Ceneral Cuming.
23. General Cuming.
24. Robt. Cuninghame.
25. Robt. Cuninghame.
26. Robt. Cuninghame.
27. Robt. Quayle.
28. Revd. John Gelling.
29. Capt. Quilliam.
30. Mrs. Taubman.
31. Mrs. Redfern, W. C. Crow, and Miss Eliz. Gelling.
32. Robt. Quayle, J. Cain, R. Cubbon, M. Drennan, and A. Cregeen.
33. John Fitzsimmons.
34. Wm. Farrant.
35. Richd. Jones.
36. Capt. Woods.
37. Capt. Woods.
38. Harriet Finigan.
39. Thos. Boyd.
40. Philip Quirk.
41 & 42. Jno. Caine.
43. Wm. Dinwoody.
44. Thos. Kinvig.
45. Mrs. Jeffcott.
46 & 47. Mrs. E. Drinkwater.
48. John McHutchin.
49. John McHutchin.
50. John Molineux.
51. John Curphey.
52. F. B. Hartwell.
53. F. B. Hartwell.
54. John Kelly.
55. Thos. Monkhouse.
56 & 57. Jos. Faulder.
58 & 59. Capt. Woods.
60. Duke of Atholl.
61. Bishop.
62 & 63. Capt. Quilliam.
64. Capt. Gibson. (By leave from Chaplain.)
65 & 66. Mrs. C. Crellin.
67 & 68. Robt. Quayle.
69 & 70. Thos. Brine.
71 & 72. Jas. Wilks.
73 & 74. Geo. Quirk.
75. Thos. Kewley.
76. Mrs. E. Holmes.
77. Rev. G. S. Parsons (until he resumes possession of 64 on Mrs. Gibson's death).
78. Fred L. Gelling.
79. Wm. Craige.
80. John Quayle.
81. Capt. Fellows.
82. Miss S. Quayle.
83. Jos. Scott.
84. Tobias Francis.
85 & 86. Thos. Brine.
87 & 88. Wm. Downes.
89. Sam M. Looney.
90. Wm. Killey.
91. Fred. L. Gelling.
92. General Cuming.
93 & 94. Robt. Kelly.
95. Wm. Kewley.
96. Daniel Leyland.
97. Mrs. Christian.
98. Thos. Kneen.

99 to 102 inclusive— Thos. Brine.
103. Edwd. Gawne.
104 & 105. John Fitzsimmons.
106. Robt. Cuninghame.
107. John Quayle.
108. John Quayle.
109 & 110. John Kelly.

Figure 61: 1826 St Mary's Castletown triple-decker pulpit and cushion probably taken prior to 1844 because there are no candles on the altar (courtesy of MNH)

Figure 62: 1826 St Mary's Castletown east end (undated unacknowledged postcard, courtesy of MNH)

Figure 63: 1826 St Mary's Castletown east end nineteenth century
(Swales 1926: 90)

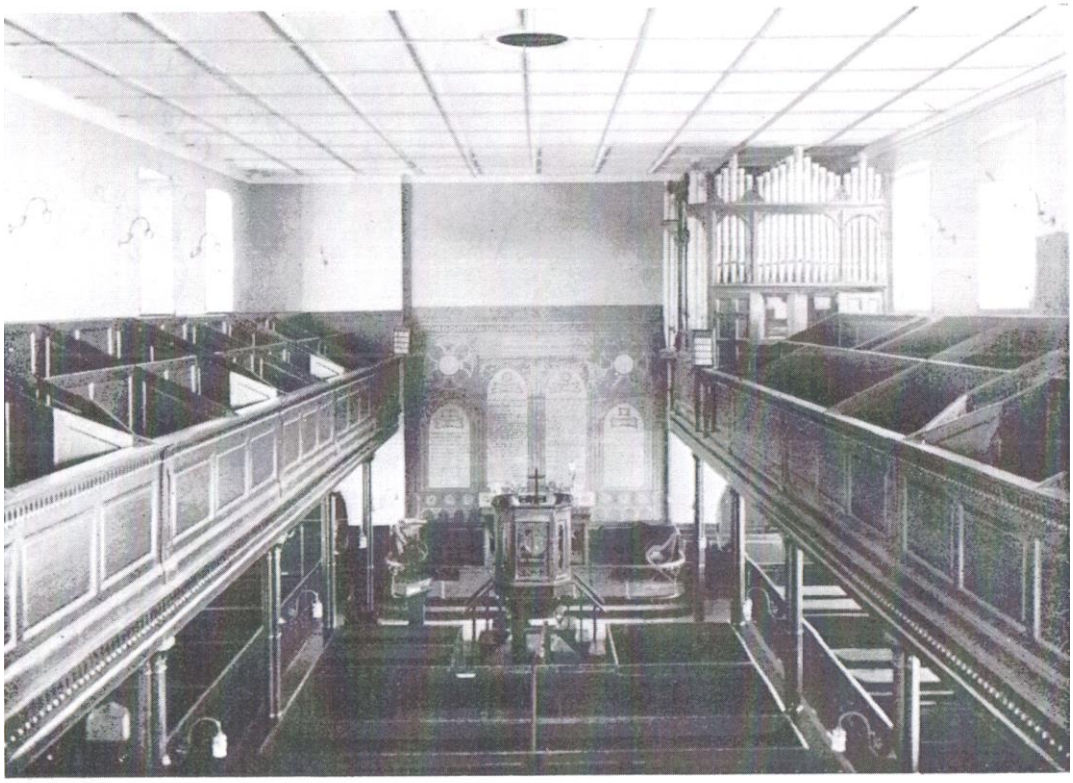


Photo. by V. L. Swales.

Figure 64: 1826 St Mary's Castletown east end after 1920. Pulpit within chancel
(Thompson 1964: 11)

Figure 65: 1826 St Mary's Castletown 1892 altar with detail of former retable (author's photographs)

Figure 66: 1826 St Mary's Castletown (author's interpretation of original arrangements, not to scale)

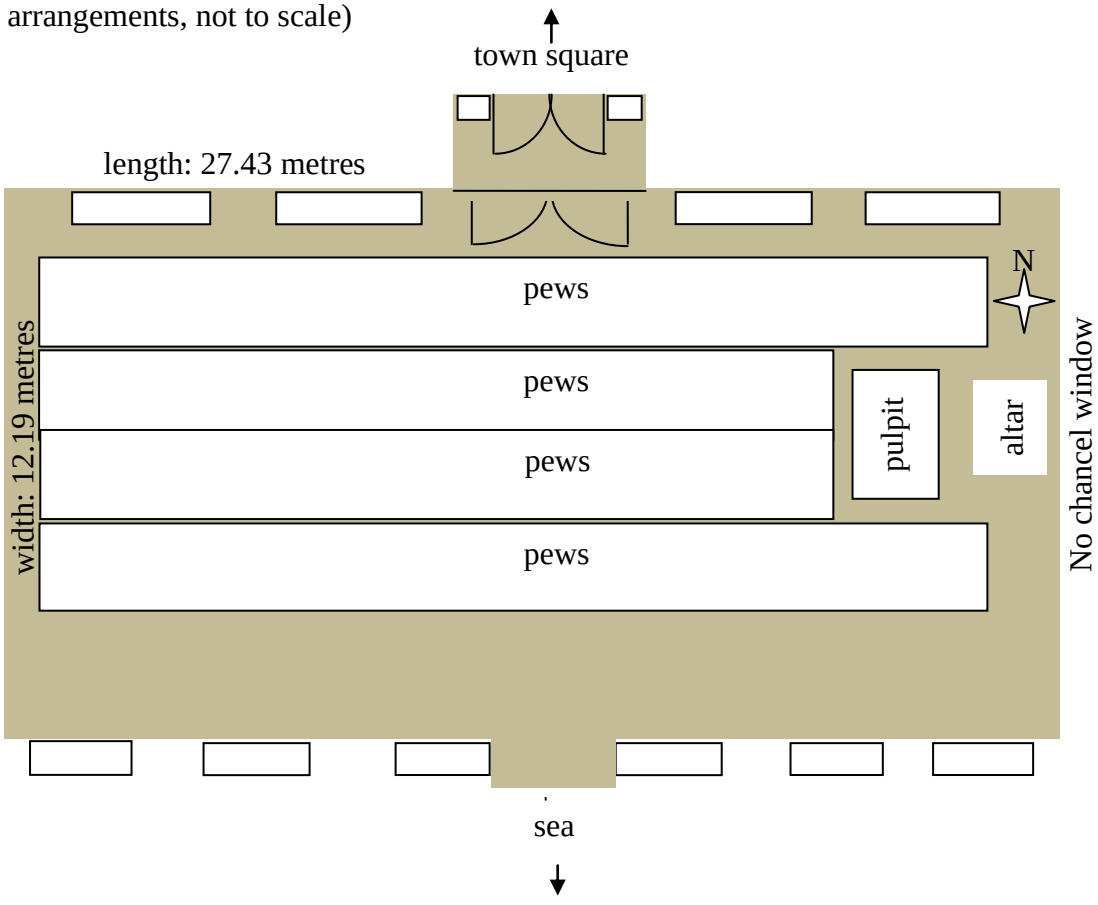


Figure 67: 1826 St Mary's Castletown floor plan 1957 (Thompson 1964: 13)

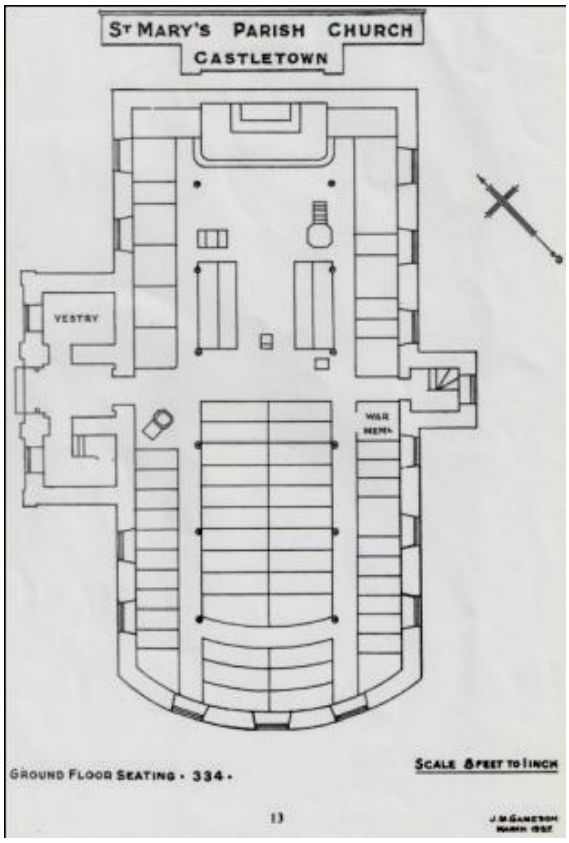


Figure 68: 1826 St Mary's Castletown from north (author's photograph 2011)

Figure 69: St Mark's Chapel built in 1772 from the southeast showing the structurally separate sanctuary (courtesy of MNH, Ward *c.* 1830)

Figure 70: St Mark's Chapel floor plan (courtesy of MNH, IOM DFAS 2009)

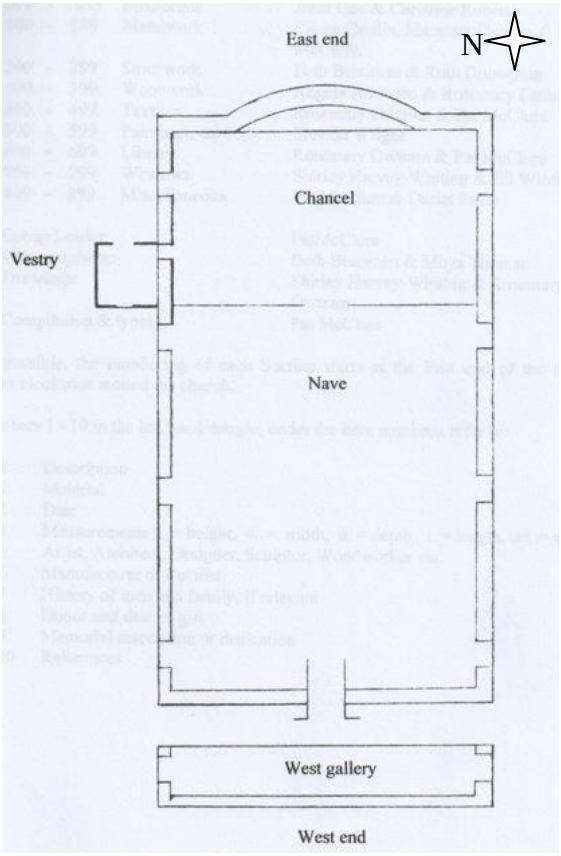


Figure 71: St Mark's Chapel interior from west end showing definition of sanctuary from chancel with two steps, and from chancel from nave with one step and low partition (author's photograph 2010)

Figures 72: St Mark's Chapel altar candlesticks (courtesy of MNH, IOM DFAS 2009: 105)

Figure 73: St Mark's Chapel altar cross (courtesy of MNH, IOM DFAS 2009: 106)

Figure 74: St Mark's Chapel pulpit within chancel (author's photograph 2013)

Figure 75: St Mark's Chapel communion plate donated in 1772 with detail of inscription and silver marks on paten (courtesy of MNH, IOM DFAS 2009: 100, 101)

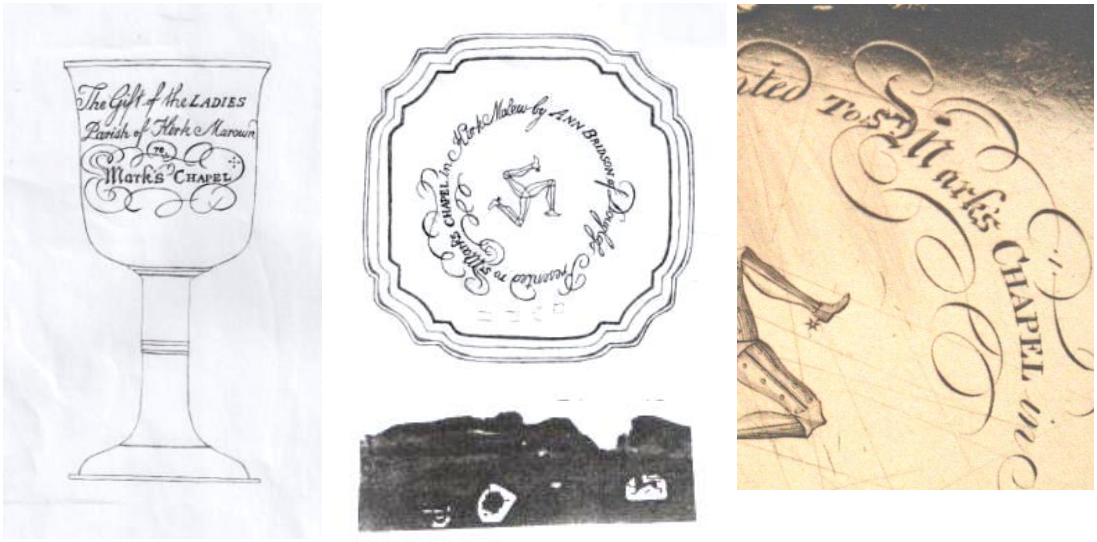


Figure 76: St Mark's Chapel seating plan 1773
(courtesy of MNH DD, Malew box 103)

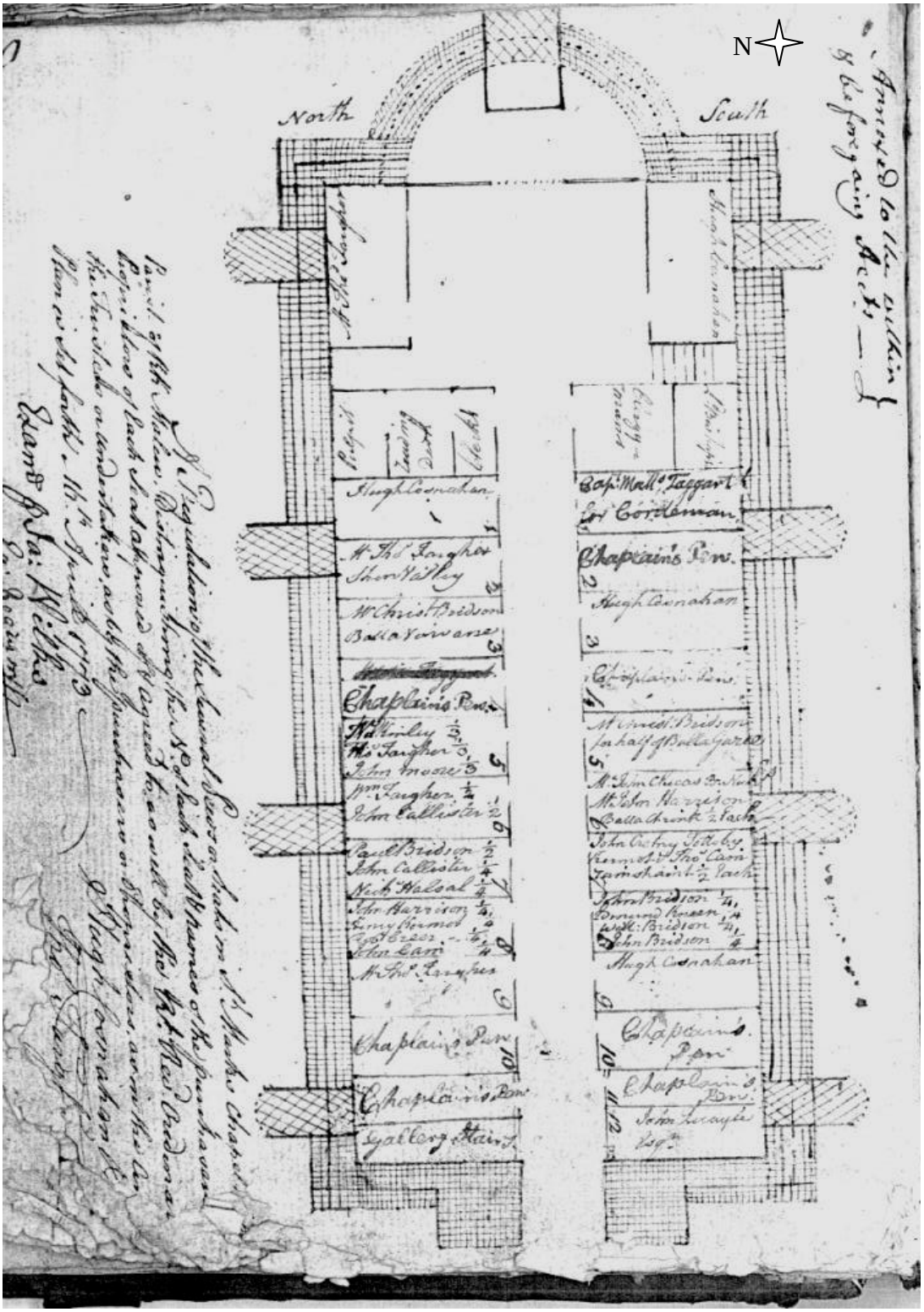


Figure 77: St Mark's Chapel seating plan 1840 (courtesy of MNH DD, Malew box 103)

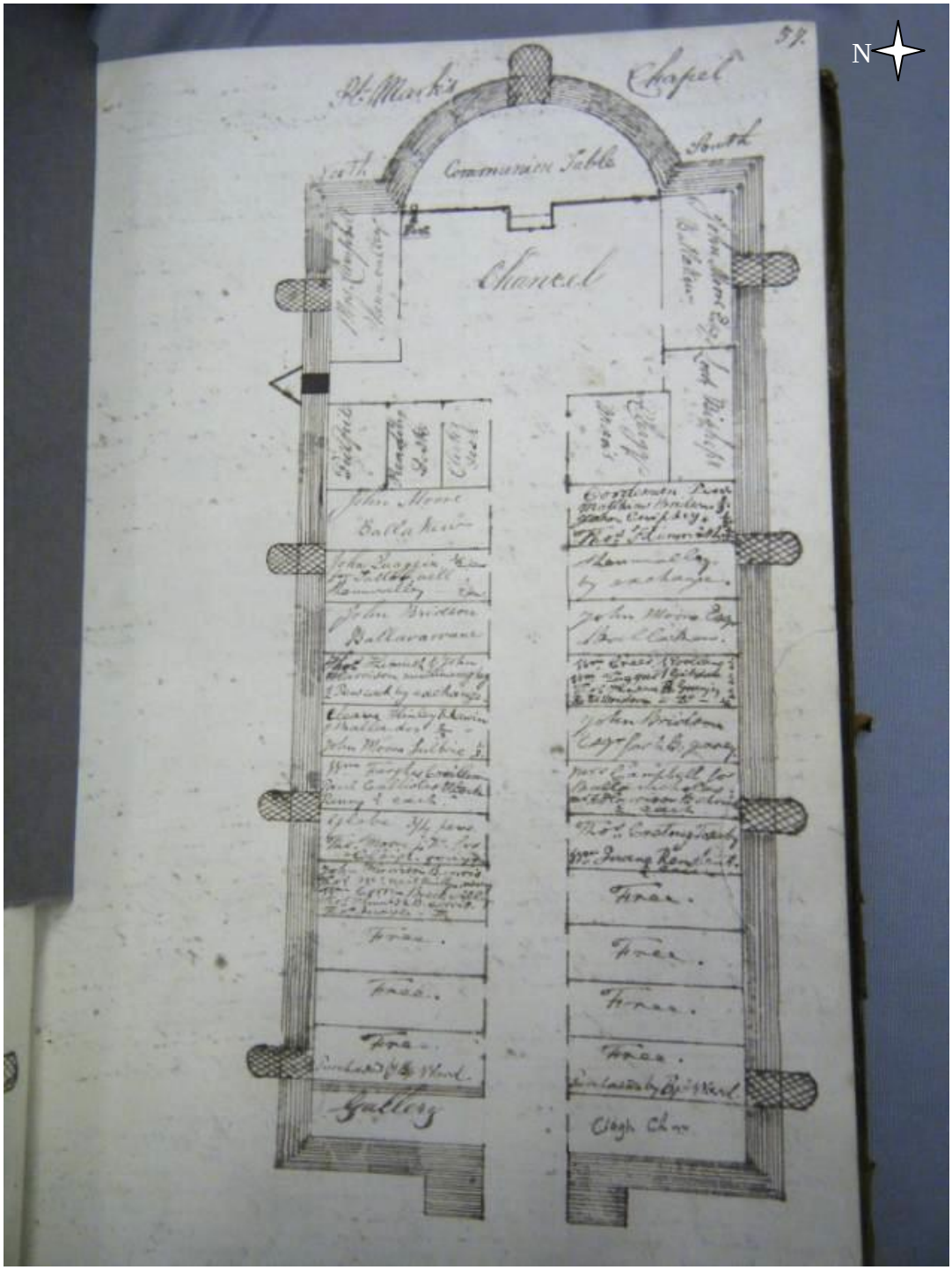


Figure 78: St Mark's Chapel from northwest (author's photograph 2010)

Figure 79: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 80: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain east end before 1892 (author's photograph of unacknowledged image found inside church)

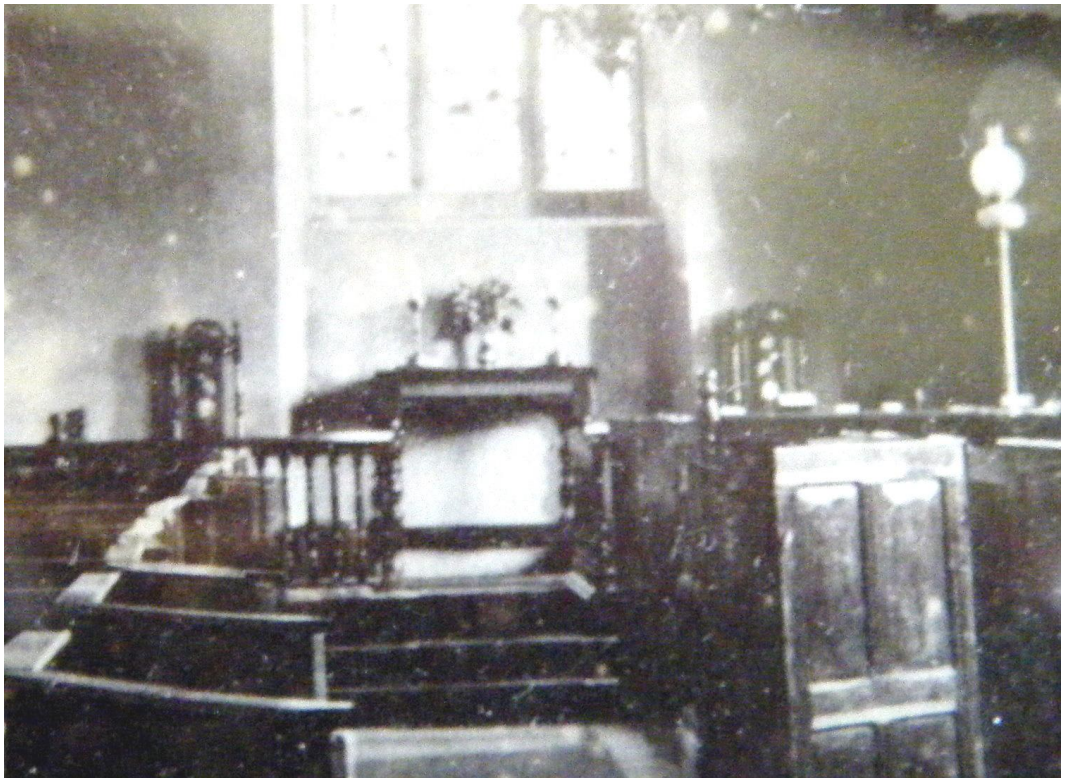


Figure 81: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain from west end *c.* 1885
(John Thomas, by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru ($L^{L}GC$))

Figure 82: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain from west end (Alan Cole 2012)

Figures 83a: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain east end showing 17th century altar rail, and definition of sanctuary and chancel at floor level (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 83b: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain east end showing definition of chancel and nave at floor level (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 84a: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain altar candlesticks (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 84b: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain altar cross (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 85: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain floor plan 1893 (courtesy of Trustees of Lambeth Palace)

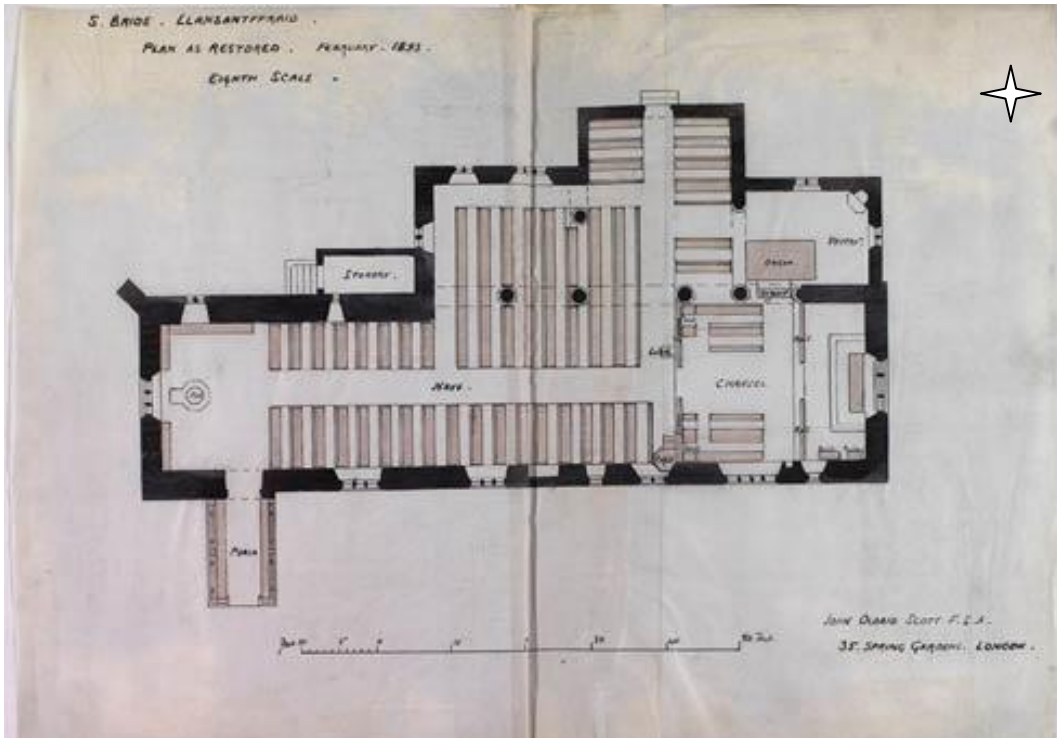


Figure 86: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain old woodwork dated 1624, 1630 and 1706 (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 87: Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain pulpit and tester within nave (Alan Cole 2012)

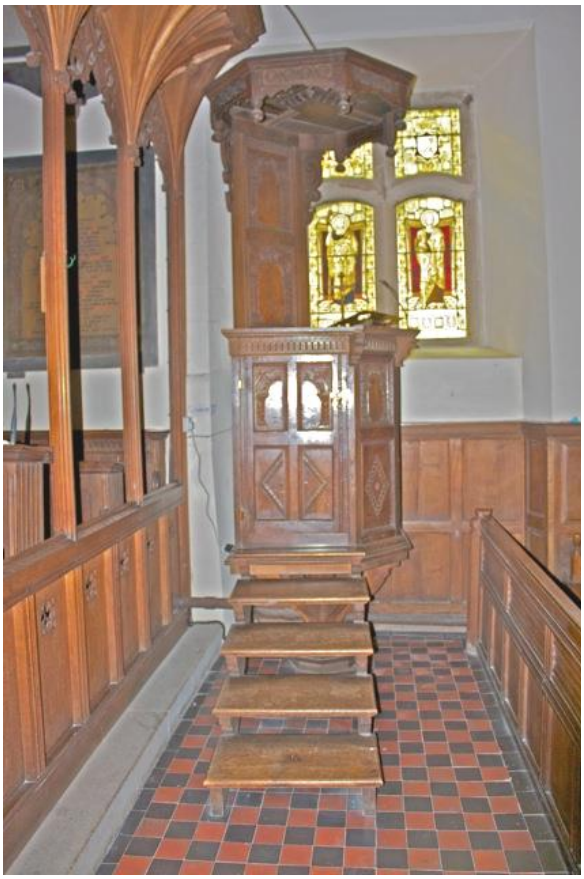


Figure 88: Memorial in Bwlch-y-cibau Wesleyan graveyard 1857 to Reverend Thomas Batten (courtesy of Gaynor Leech)

Figure 89: Bwlch-y-cibau Parish Church built in 1864 from southwest (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 90: Bwlch-y-cibau Parish Church floor plan from the National Monuments Record of Wales: NADFAS Collection (CHCC, NADFAS 2007)

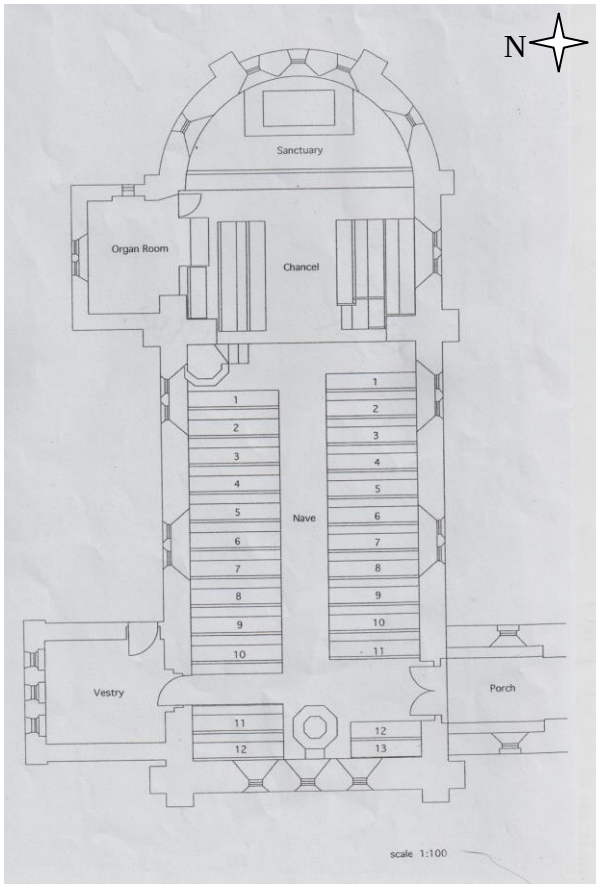


Figure 91: Bwlch-y-cibau Parish Church east end. Lectern and pulpit within nave (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 92a: Bwlch-y-cibau altar candlestick

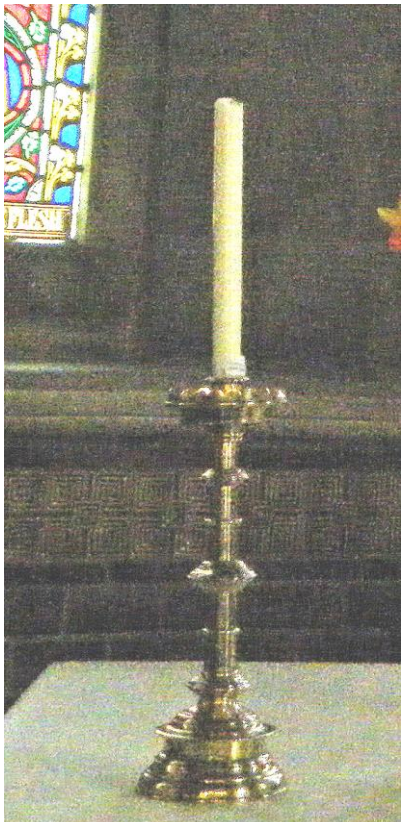


Figure 92b: Bwlch-y-cibau altar cross (author's photographs 2010)

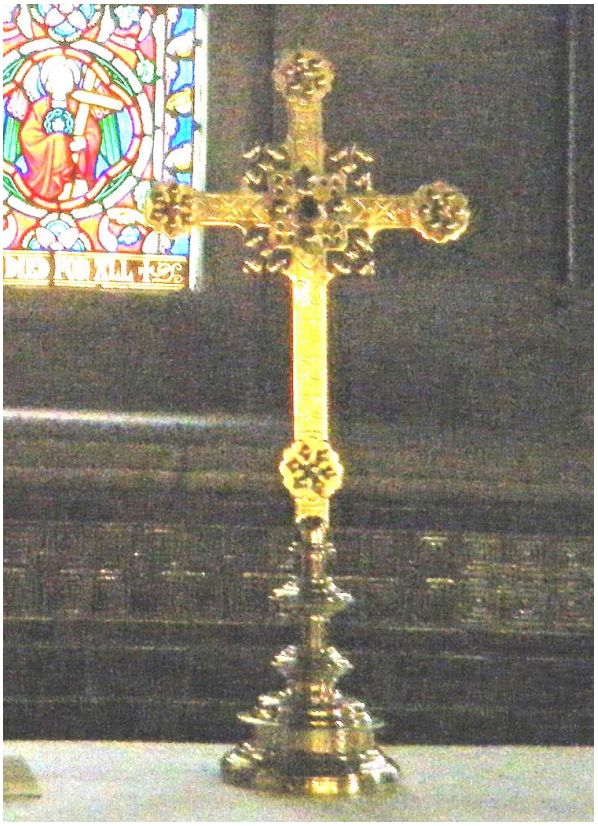


Figure 93: Bwlch-y-cibau definition of sanctuary and chancel at floor level (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 94: Bwlch-y-cibau, definition of chancel and nave at floor level (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 95: Trelystan Chapel and Church before and after 1856 (courtesy of SA, 1856)

Figure 96: Trelystan Church from south (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 97: Trelystan Church interior from west end. Lectern and pulpit within nave (Alan Cole 2012)

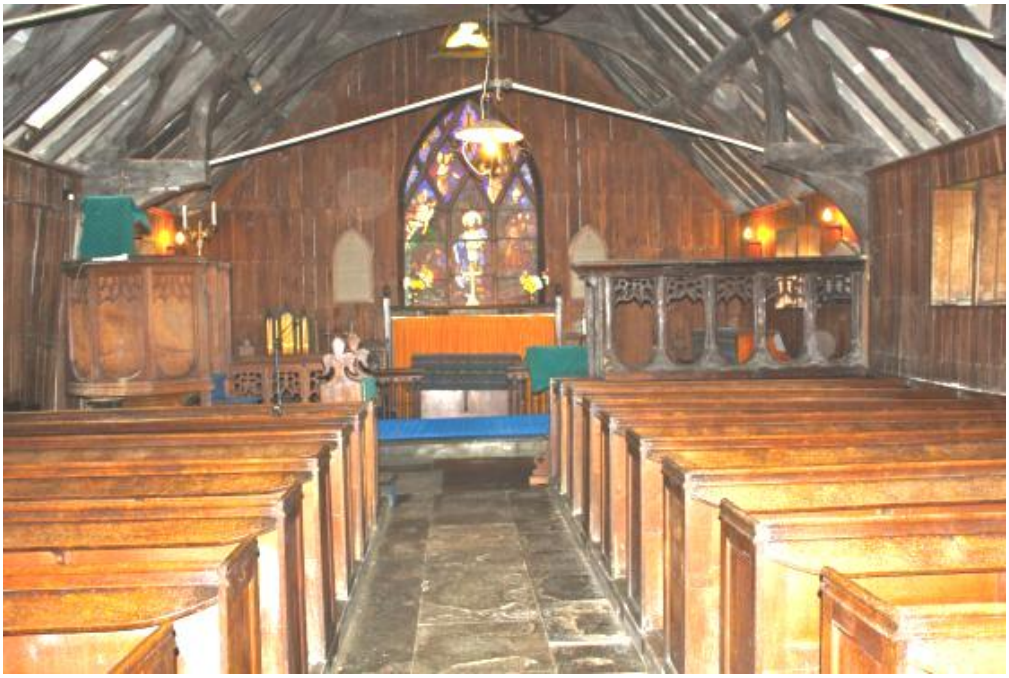


Figure 98: Trelystan Church pulpit installed at the northeast end of the nave in 1856 (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 99: Trelystan Church floor plan from the National Monuments Record of Wales: NADFAS Collection (CHCC, NADFAS 1991)

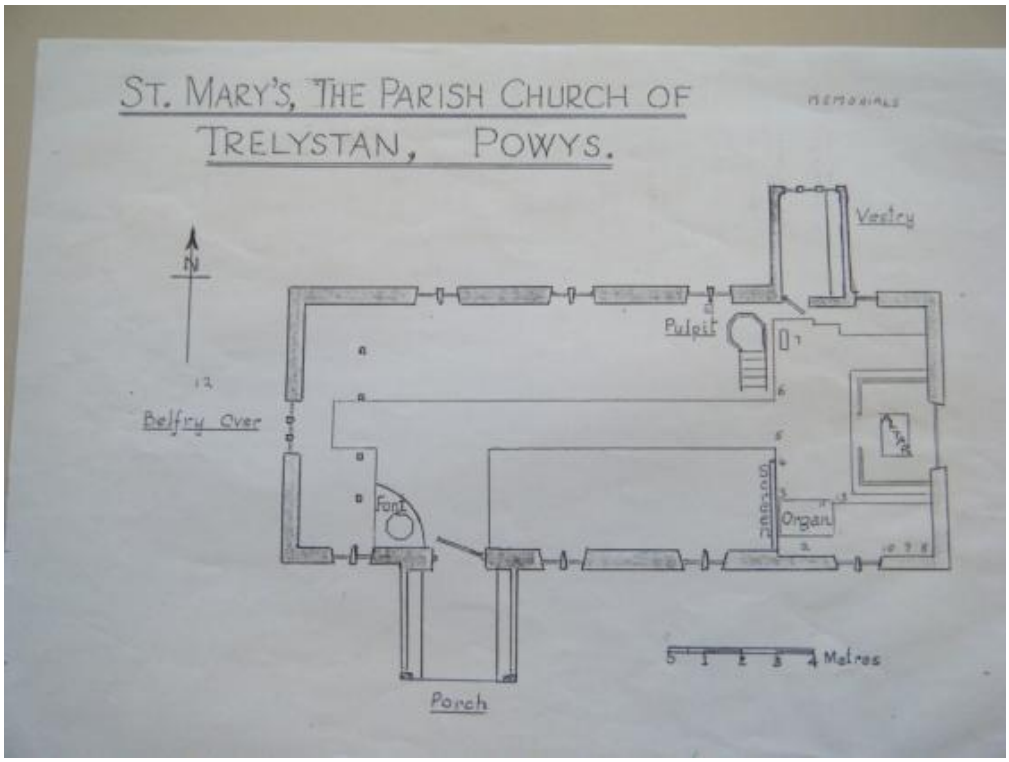


Figure 100a: Trelystan Church medieval chancel screen reinstalled on the south side of the central aisle in 1856 (author's photographs 2010)

Figure 100b: Trelystan Church replica screen installed on the north side of the central aisle in 1856

Figure 101: Trelystan Church, raised sanctuary floor, chancel floor of inscribed gravestones level with nave aisle of plain slabs (Alan Cole 2012)

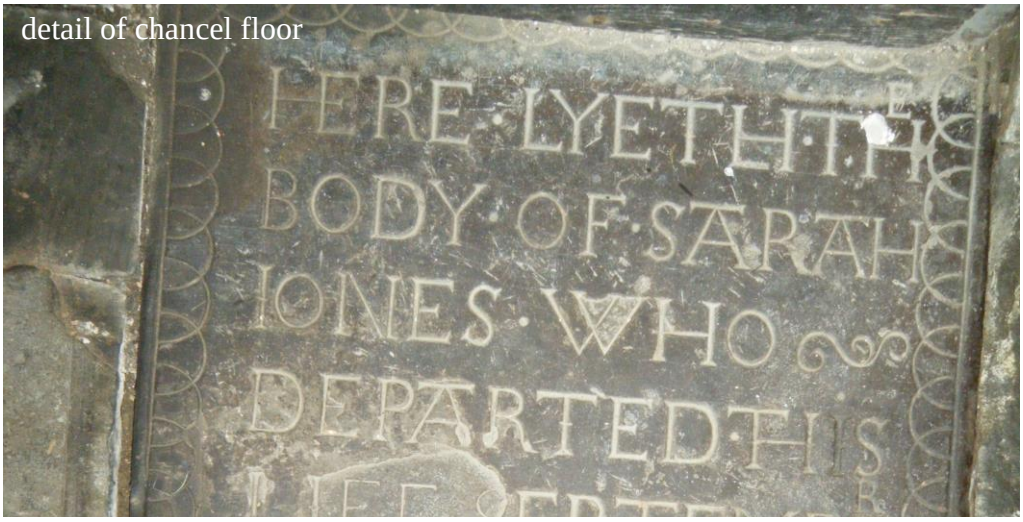


Figure 102: Trelystan Church old altar-table (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 103: Trelystan Church poppy-head desk ends (author's photograph 2010)

Figure 104: Trelystan Church altar candlesticks and altar cross (Alan Cole 2012)

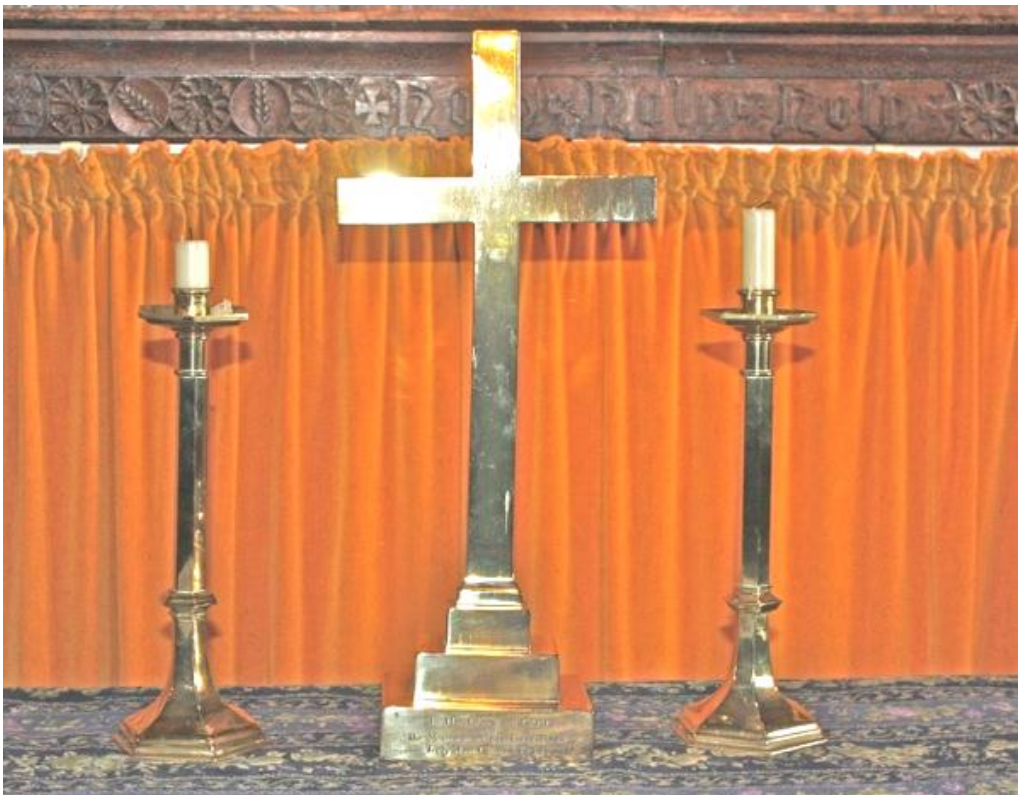


Figure 105: Trelystan Church silver chalice 1889/90 showing silver marks, from the National Monuments Record of Wales: NADFAS Collection (CHCC, NADFAS 1991: 100)

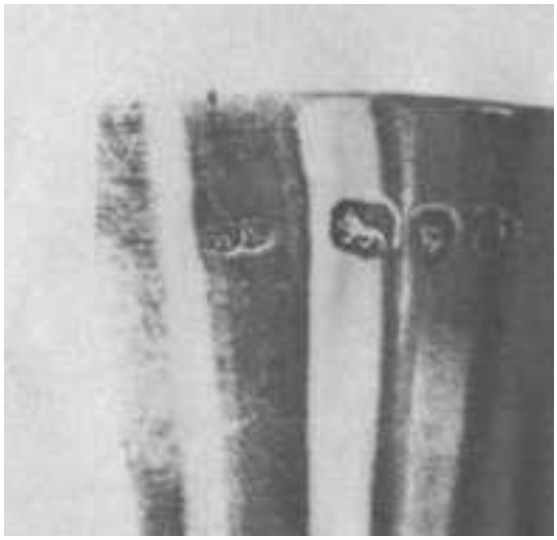


Figure 106: Trelystan Church old wood carvings (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 107: Trelystan Church Decalogue (Alan Cole 2012)

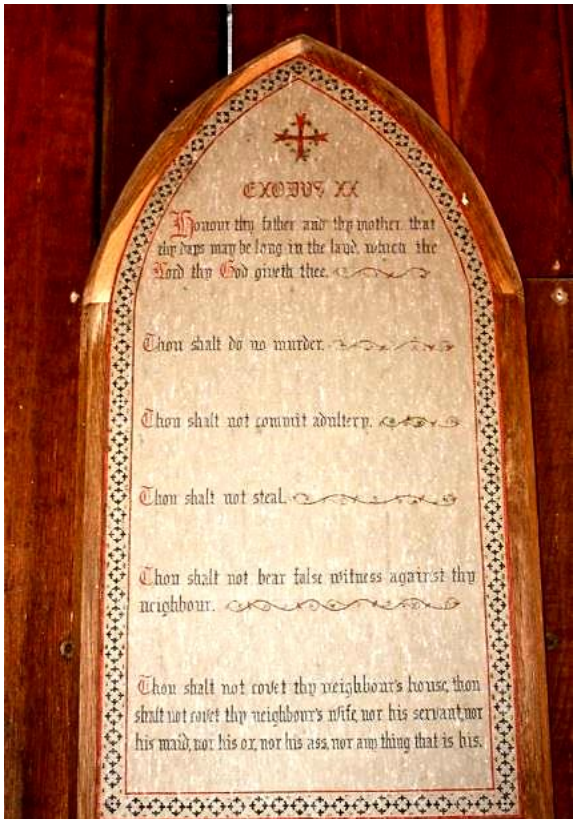


Figure 108: Leighton Parish Church built in 1853 from the southeast (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 109: Leighton Parish Church floor plan from the National Monuments Record of Wales: NADFAS Collection (CHCC, NADFAS 2003/4)

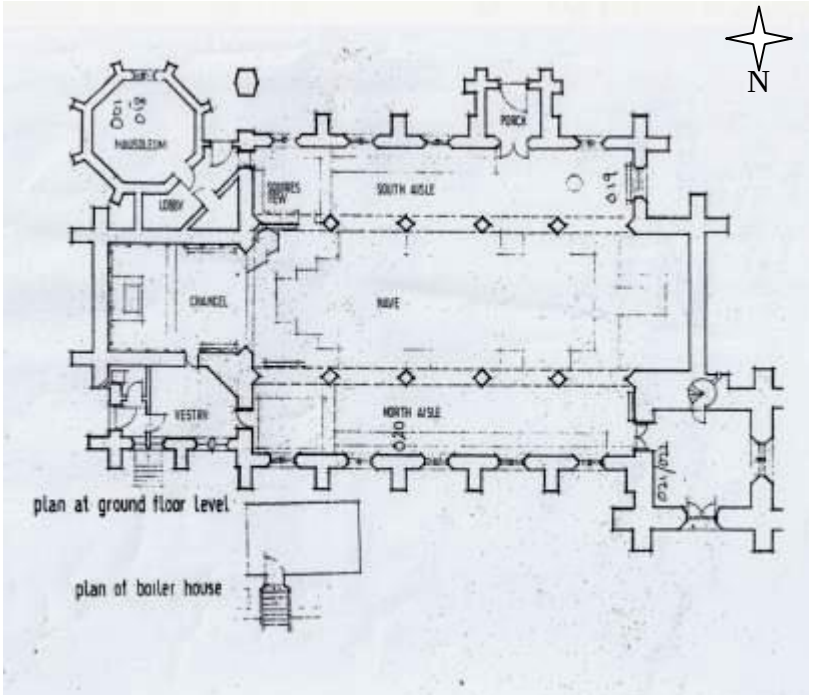


Figure 110: Leighton Parish Church east end. Lectern and pulpit within nave (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 111a: Leighton Parish Church definition of sanctuary and chancel at floor level

Figure 111b: Leighton Parish Church minimal definition of chancel and nave at floor level (photographs Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 112: Leighton Parish Church altar cross (Alan Cole 2012)

Figure 113: St Sanctain's Royal Arms post-1830 (courtesy of MNH, IOM DFAS 2003)

Figure 114: Balladoole House (author's photograph 2013)

Figure 115: Knock Rushen (author's photograph 2013)

Figure 116: Ronaldsway House in 1793 (Cotton 1993: XVIII, courtesy of MNH)

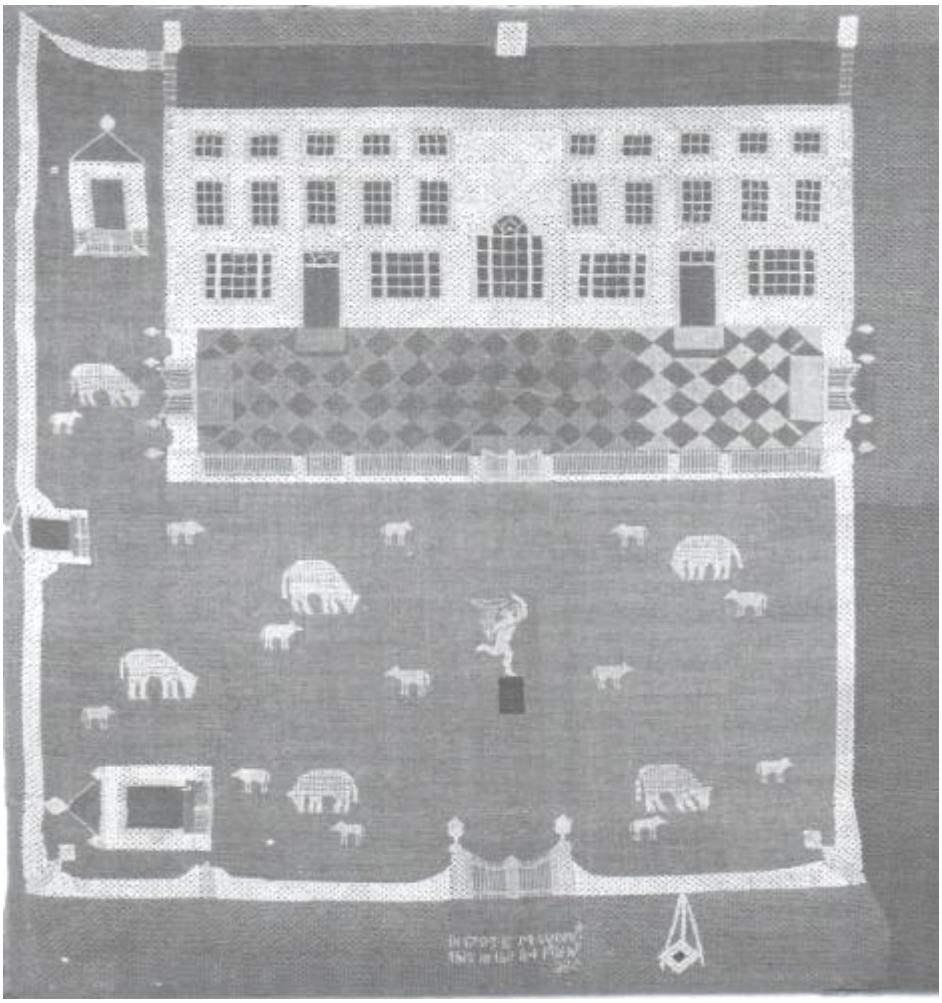


Figure 117: St Sanctain's silver beaker 1758 (© Jonathan Latimer 2012)

Figure 118: Ormskirk Parish Church marble effigy of 1st Earl of Derby (author's photograph 2012)

Figure 119: nineteenth-century gravestone repairs Kirk Malew (author's photograph 2011)

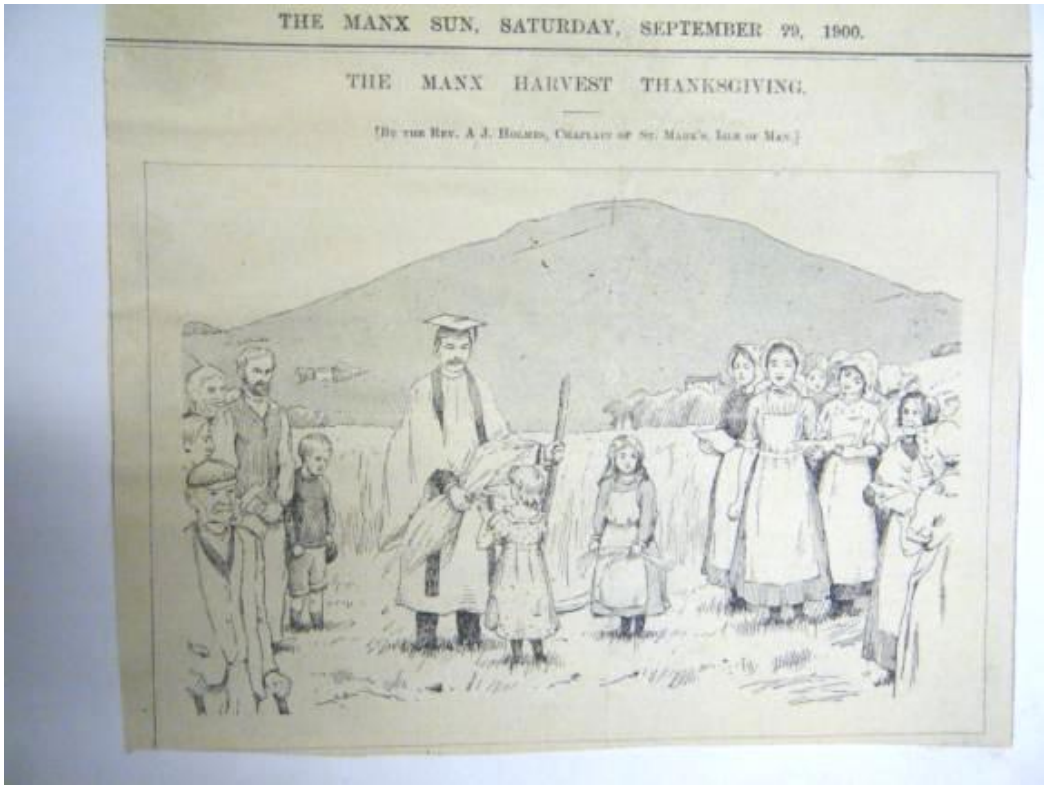
Figure 120: James, 10th Earl of Derby 1702-1736 (Bagley 1985: un-numbered plate, courtesy of MNH)

Figure 121: Bishop Thomas Wilson 1698-1755 (courtesy of MNH)

Figure 122: bleaching linen at Laxey (courtesy of MNH, Warwick Smith 1795)

Figure 123: eighteenth-century surplice from Somerset (courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery)

Figure 124: surplice worn by chaplain of St Mark's
(Manx Sun 29 September 1900: 30, courtesy of MNH)



THE MANX SUN, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1900.

THE MANX HARVEST THANKSGIVING.

[By the Rev. A J. Holmes, Chaplain of St. Mark's, Isle of Man.]

Figure 125: surplices worn at Cronk-y-Voddy Chapel-of-ease IOM Easter Monday 1909 (Perks and MacDonald *c*. 2009: 67)

Figure 126: surplices worn at Tynwald Day proceedings during the early twentieth century (supplied by Tynwald Library)

Figure 127: St Matthew's Church Douglas pulpit and sounding board (Frowde (1812-1873), courtesy of MNH).

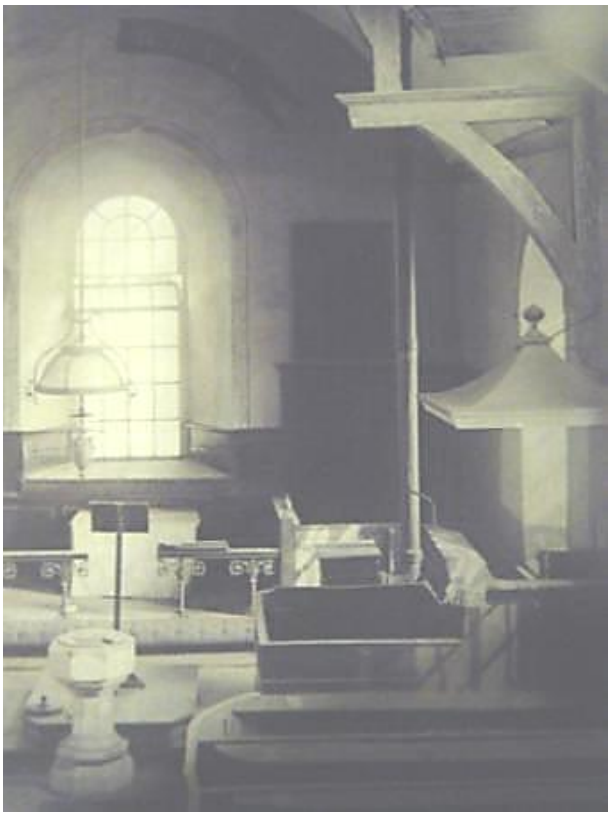


Figure 128: St Sanctain's (formerly St Anne's) chancel and pulpit 1732 (courtesy of MNH, MNH DD, Santon, box 108)

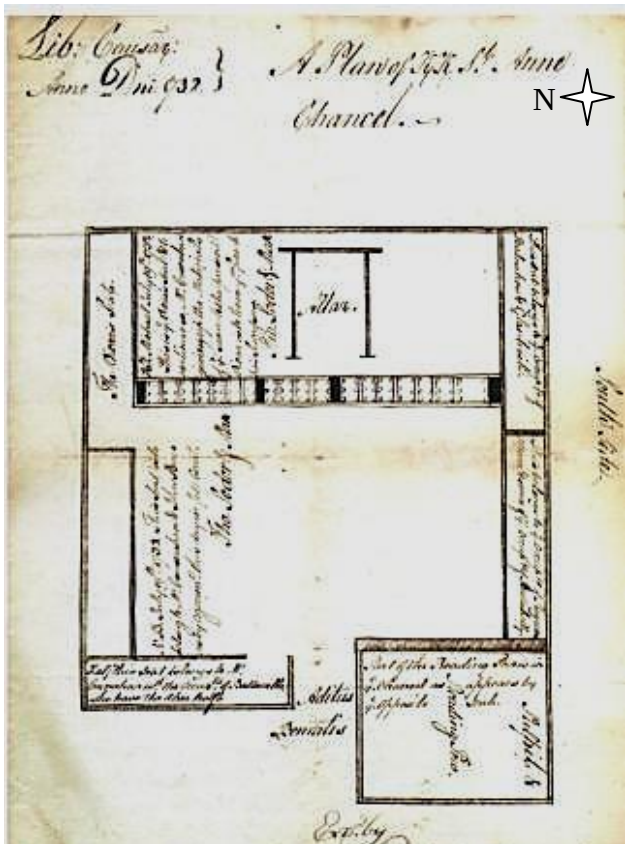


Figure 129: hour glasses allegedly used in Ballaugh and Bishopscourt, IOM (courtesy of MNH)

Appendix I

Glossary

Altar: see **Communion table**

Altar cloth: see **Carpet**

Altar rail: a low, usually wooden rail enclosing an **altar** from the rest of the chancel, thus discouraging unauthorized entry to the area enclosed

Altar-table: see **Communion table**

Appropriator: clergyman or ecclesiastical institution in receipt of tithes, with related responsibilities for maintenance of a chancel

Benches: door-less seats with or without backrests, decorative bench-ends, integral kneelers or desks, usually situated within church naves

Benefice: unit of administrative responsibility of one of more parishes

Broad: Victorian adjective indicating acceptance by Church officials of liberal interpretations of Anglican theology. Used descriptively throughout the period studied

Carpet: used synonymously with the term **altar cloth** within this study, albeit the word carpet may have reflected the use of velvet (Addleshaw 1941: 52-3) or other heavy-gauge fabric

Cess: Manx parochial assessment

Church: any building 'licensed for public worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England and subject to faculty jurisdiction' as described in the Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure 1991 (Gumbley, 2006: 246)

Also, once used to differentiate church [or nave] from chancel. Evident in early modern VRs and other official documentation

Chancel: designated space at the east or notional east end of a church building containing the **holy table**, often delineated by a pierced screen, steps and/or the use of higher quality floor covering than elsewhere in the building. Maintained by the clergy or an **impropriator** during most of the period studied

Chapel-of-ease:

Anglican building subordinate to a parish church, facilitating attendance at services by parishioners residing some distance from their parish church

Chapter Quest:

medieval monastic administrative body perpetuated in the post-Reformation Manx Church as an annually appointed group of secular, male church officials who assisted churchwardens with their duties

Clerk's pew/desk:

see **triple-decker pulpit**

Commodities: the results of transactions involving exchange of objects because of their perceived redeemable value. In the market place commodities are arranged into 'value classes' (Kopytoff 1986: 68, 70)

Communion table, holy table, table, altar table, altar-slab or altar:
used synonymously to describe the piece of furniture onto which liturgies of Holy Communion focused. Variations in material and form have been specified when known, but terms used within sources sometimes reflected devotional perceptions rather than form or material.

Discourses: 'Ways of talking that have consequences for power' (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000: 635) that influence social activity (ibid: 706) and reflect relationships between those in authority and others during teaching and devotional events during which those involved co-operate, participate and speak, often in reciprocal, but not conversational, ways. How Anglican discourses organized and controlled by rules of conduct, and sometimes expressed non-verbally within specialized material arrangements, have been interpreted, probably defined those involved.

Donor: person or group who has given land, money or a material item for use by the Church or for display or use within a church or chapel-of-ease

Field: '[...] domain of social life that has its own rules of organization, generates a set of positions, and supports the practices associated with them' (Calhoun et al. 2007: 262), applied, in this project, to institutions like the Church

Free seating: seats in a church or chapel which anyone could occupy although, in the nineteenth century, there was a stigma associated with their use (Brown 1998: 6)

Historical Archaeology:

‘archaeology of the spread of European cultures throughout the world since the fifteenth century, and their impact on and interaction with the cultures of indigenous peoples’ (Deetz 1996: 5).

Hermeneutics:

interpretations

Holy table: see **Communion table**

Impropriator:

layperson or landholding assigned a tithe, or a space or pew as property with related responsibilities for maintenance

Ingates and Outgates:

in Man, customs returns

Intack: in Man, previously common land on mountainside fringes, sometimes purchased from the Crown, brought into the lowland farms and enclosed as populations increased

***Locale*:** inhabited space invested with meaning by particular human activity. Traditionally churches have been divided into two *locales*. The chancel focused primarily onto activities relating to celebrations of Holy Communion. The social space of the nave was where edifying, devotional discourses between clergy and laity also took place.

***Longue durée*:** an *Annales* School idea that allocated long-term evolving historical structures, systems and institutions priority over static, dated events

Nave: the space within each church or chapel designated for the accommodation of the laity. Usually at the west end, traditionally this space has been maintained by parishioners.

Orientation: most Anglican buildings have been oriented E/W or nearly E/W, with the **chancel** towards the east or notional east end of each building. Furnishings like **altar tables** were oriented E/W or N/S at different times. Orientation of **altar rails** N/S reflected acceptance of Laudian ideas.

Patron: person [or institution] with the necessary degree of wealth, influence or power to bestow favours (Collins, 1994: 19). Patrons had 'the right to appoint a priest to a benefice and therefore to confer a living' (Jennings, 2009: 46). Those appointed derived their authority from church officials, rather than from their patron (Addleshaw, 1956: 17).

Pew: Enclosed seating area within a church or chapel space into which one entered via a small door. Pews were sometimes long and narrow, sometimes square or nearly so. In Wales some were erected by individuals with the permission of a Faculty grant, which always related use to a particular dwelling as a 'virtual freehold in law', never to an individual, and usually required that the owner maintain said pew. Most were installed at the expense of the parish and allocated to the houses and farms within that parish (Brown, 1998: 6-7). In early modern times the possession of a pew extended to the right to be buried under it. In the nineteenth century in Man they were also sometimes owned and sold as property (MNH PR, Castletown 1811).

Pew Rents: supported maintenance and construction schemes for which congregations were responsible. Sometimes they provided the clerical stipend (Brown 1998: 6).

Pulpit: raised desk from where sermons were delivered. Often constructed of wood but, from the nineteenth century, sometimes of stone

Puritan/ puritan The first Puritans were dissenters and reformers against the Established Catholic, and then the Anglican, Churches. Within this work perceptions of this intense Puritanism have been expressed with an upper-case P. The use of a lower-case p referred to perceptions of less extreme preferences for austere interiors, plain furnishing styles and simple liturgical arrangements.

Quarterland: official unit of Manx land occupation used for administrative purposes such as collection of rents, so that the servicing of churchyard boundaries could be delegated, and for the designation of seating within churches. Quarterland farmers employed tenants and enjoyed relatively high social status.

Reading desk: particularly Anglican item of furniture, from which the Bible was read. Originally integral with **pulpit** and **clerk's pew/desk** in a **triple-decker pulpit**, later a stand-alone piece of furniture. Use synonymous with that of the modern lectern

Rectory: benefice or residence of a rector. The term parsonage also defined the latter

Retable: shelf above and behind the east side of an altar on which items like an altar cross or altar candles might be displayed. Use strongly suggested that the associated altar/table was positioned against the east gable of the chancel because its height precluded access to the altar/table from that side.

Rural: small country settlements and villages like Ballaugh and St Mark's in Man, and Trelystan and Leighton in mid-Wales, or the location of a church outside a town, like Kirk Malew

Sounding board canopy or **tester** over a pulpit, the purpose of which was to project speakers' voices, to ensure congregations gathered could hear and respond to what was said

Table: see **Communion-table**

Tester: see **Sounding board**

Triple-decker pulpit: early modern material concept of combined, raised **pulpit** from where sermons were preached**,** intermediate **reading desk** from where the Bible was read and lower **clerk's pew** from where the parish clerk led expected communal recitations of psalms and responses, and later singing, particularly during periods when the majority of parishioners were illiterate. Usually composed of wood and situated towards the east end of the **nave** adjacent to good natural lighting

Urban: related to township. Within this project, the term referred to Castletown in Man and Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain in mid-Wales.

Vicarage: the benefice or the residence of a vicar. The term parsonage also defined the latter.

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